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Edward Ordwell?



The DEATH of SOCRATES.

Published 20 June 1749 by J. & P. Knapton.

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRIECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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CHAP. IV.

History of SOCRATES abridged.

AS the death of Socrates is one of the most considerable events of antiquity, I thought it incumbent on me to treat that subject with all the extent it deserves. In this view I shall premise some things, which are necessary to the reader's having a just idea of this prince of the philosophers.

Two authors will supply me principally with what I have to say upon this subject, Plato and Xenophon, both disciples of Socrates. It is to them posterity is indebted for many of his discourses (* that philosopher having left nothing in writing) and for an ample account of all the circumstances of his condemnation and death. Plato was an eye-witness of the whole, and relates, in his *Apology*, the manner of Socrates's accusation and defence; in his *Criton*, his refusal to make his escape out of prison; in his *Phædon*, his admirable discourse upon the immortality of the soul, which was immediately followed by his death. Xenophon was absent at that time, and upon his return after the expedition of young Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes: So that he wrote his *Apology of Socrates* only upon the report of others, but his actions and discourses,

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in

* Socrates, *cujus ingenium vari- / suis Plato tradidit, literarum nullam
neque sermones immortalitati scriptis / reliquit. Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 57.*

in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

SECT. I. Birth of SOCRATES. *He applies at first to sculpture then to the study of the sciences: His wonderful progress in the latter: His taste for moral philosophy: His manner of living, and his sufferings from the ill humour of his wife.*

(a) **SOCRATES** was born at Athens in the fourth year of the seventy seventh Olympiad. His father Sophroniscus was a sculptor, and his mother Phanoarete a midwife. Hence we may observe, that meanness of birth is no obstacle to merit, in which alone solid glory and real nobility consist. It appears from the comparisons Socrates often used in his discourses, that he was neither ashamed of his father's or mother's profession. (b) He was surprized that a sculptor should employ his whole attention to mould an insensible stone into the likeness of a man, and that a man should take so little pains not to resemble an insensible stone. (c) He would often say, that he exercised the function of a midwife with regard to the mind in making it bring forth all its thoughts, which was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates. He treated subjects in simple, natural, and pure an order, that he made those with whom he disputed say what he would, and find an answer themselves to all the questions he proposed to them. He first learnt his father's trade, in which he made himself an expert. (d) In the time of Pausanias, there was a *Meres* and the *Sineses* to be seen at Athens of his workmanship; and it is to be presumed, these statues would not have found place amongst those of the greatest masters in the art, if they had been thought worthy of it.

(e) Criton is reported to have taken him out of his father's shop, from the admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion that it was inconsistent for a young man, capable of the great things, to continue perpetually employed upon stone with chisel in his hand. He was the disciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been put to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher. His first study was physics, the works of nature, and the movement of the heavens, stars, and planets; according to the custom of the times, wherein only that part of philosophy was known, a

Xen

(a) *X. M.* 1113. *Ant. J. E.* 471. *Diog. Laert.* in *Notat.* p. 1112.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 1112. (c) *Plat.* in *Theatet.* p. 149, 150. (d) *Paus.* l. p. 396. (e) *Diog.* p. 101.

Xenophon (*f*) assures us of his being very learned in it. But * after having found by his own experience, how difficult, abstruse, intricate, and at the same time how little useful that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the first, according to Cicero, who conceived the thought of bringing down philosophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce it into private houses; humanizing it, to use that expression, and rendering it more familiar, more useful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it solely to what might make them more rational, just, and virtuous. (*g*) He found there was a kind of folly in devoting the whole vivacity of his mind, and employing all his time, in enquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to human happiness; whilst he neglected to inform himself in the ordinary duties of life, and in learning what is conformable, or opposite, to piety, justice, and probity; in what fortitude, temperance, and wisdom consist; what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are necessary for commanding and ruling well. We shall see in the sequel the use he made of this study.

It was so far from preventing him to discharge the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of making him the more observant of them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens; but with more pure and elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was present in many actions, and always distinguished himself by his valour and fortitude. He was seen, towards the end of his life, giving in the senate, of which he was a member, the most shining proofs of his zeal for justice, without being intimidated by the greatest present dangers.

He had accustomed himself early to a sober, severe, laborious life; without which it seldom happens, that men are capable of discharging the greatest part of the duties of good citizens. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. (*b*) He looked upon it as

B 2

a divine

(*f*) Lib. iv. Memorab. p. 710.

(*b*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 731.

* Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit à cælo, et in urbibus colloca- vit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quærere. Cic. *Tusq.* *Quæst.* l. v. n. 10.

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis; et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi

(*g*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 710.

occupati fuerunt, advocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse; ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret; cælestia autem vel procul esse à nostrâ cognitione censeret, vel si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. Cic. *Acad. Quæst.* l. i. n. 15.

a divine perfection to be in want of nothing, and believed less we are contented with, the nearer we approach to the nity. * Seeing the pomp and shew displayed by luxury certain ceremonies, and the infinite quantity of gold and employed in them: "How many things," said he, contemplating himself on his condition, "do I not want!" *Quoniam non ego!*

(i) His father left him fourscore minæ, that is to say, thousand livres, which he lent to one of his friends who occasion for that sum. But the affairs of that friend had taken an ill turn, he lost the whole, and suffered that misfortune with such indifference and tranquillity, that he did not much as complain of it. (†) We find in Xenophon's *Cyromonicks*, that his whole estate amounted to no more than minæ, or two hundred and fifty livres. The richest persons at Athens were his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any share of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not ashamed to declare it: † *If I had money* said he one day in an assembly of his friends, *I should buy a cloak.* He did not address himself to any body in particular but contented himself with that general information. His disciples contended for the honour of making him this present; which was being too slow, says Seneca; their observation ought to have prevented both the want and demand.

He generously refused the offers and presents of Archelaus king of Macedonia, who was desirous of having him at court; adding, *that he could not go to a man, who could give him more than it was in his power to return.* Another philosopher does not approve this answer. "Was it making a present?" "a small return," says Seneca, "to undeceive him in his false ideas of grandeur and magnificence; to inspire him with a contempt for riches; to shew him the right use of them; to instruct him in the great art of reigning; to word, to teach him how to live and how to die? But," continues Seneca, "the true reason, which prevented his going to the court of that prince, was, that he did not think it consistent for him to seek a voluntary servitude, whose liberty a free city could not suffer him to enjoy." *Noluit in*

(i) Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 640.

(†) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 8

* Socrates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur; Quam multa non desidero, inquit! Cic. *Tusc.* Quæst. I. v.

† Socrates amicis audientibus: *Emysim*, inquit, *pallium*, *si nummos*

haberem. Neminem poposcit et admonuit. A quo acciperet, et tus fuit—Post hoc quisquis raverit, sero dat; jam Socrati d Senec. de Benef. l. vii. c. 24.

voluntariam servitutem is cuius libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit (l).

(m) The peculiar austerity of his life did not render him gloomy and morose, as was common enough with the philosophers of those times. (n) In company and conversation he was always gay and facetious, and the sole joy and spirit of the entertainment. Though he was very poor, he piqued himself upon the neatness of his person and house, and could not suffer the ridiculous affectation of Antisthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged cloaths. He told him once, that through the holes in his cloak, and the rest of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be discerned.

One of the most distinguishing qualities of Socrates, was a tranquillity of soul, that no accident, no loss, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature hasty and passionate, and that the moderation, to which he had attained, was the effect of his reflections and endeavours to subdue and correct himself; which would still add to his merit. (o) Seneca tells us, that he had desired his friends to apprise him whenever they saw him ready to fall into a passion, and that he had given them that privilege over him, which he took himself with them. * Indeed the best time to call in aid against rage and anger, that have so violent and sudden a power over us, is when we are yet ourselves, and in cool blood. At the first signal, the least animadversion, he either softened his tone, or was silent. Finding himself in great emotion against a slave; "I would beat you," says he, "if I were not angry :"(p) *Cæderem te, nisi irascerer.* Having received a box on the ear, he contented himself with only saying, with a smile; (q) *'Tis a misfortune not to know when to put on an helmet.*

Without going out of his own house, he found enough to exercise his patience in all its extent. Xantippe his wife put it to the severest proofs by her capricious, passionate, violent disposition. It seems, before he took her for his companion, that he was not ignorant of her character; and he says himself in Xenophon (r) that he had expressly chosen her, from the conviction, that if he should be capable of bearing her insults, there would be no body, though ever so difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. Never was woman of so violent,

B 3 and

(l) Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6. (m) Xenoph. in conviv. (n) Ælian. l. iv. c. 11. & l. ix. c. 35. (o) Senec. de Ira, l. iir. c. 15. (p) Ibid. l. i. c. 15. (q) Ibid. l. iir. c. 11. (r) Xenoph. in conviv. p. 876.

* Contra potens malum et apud nos gratiosum, dum conspiciamus, et nostri sumus, advocemus.

and fantastical a spirit, and so bad a temper. There was no kind of abuse or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her. She would sometimes be transported with such an excess of rage, as to tear off his cloak in the open street; (s) and even one day, after having vented all the reproaches her fury could suggest, she emptied a pot upon his head; at which he only laughed, and said, *That so much thunder must needs produce a shower.*

(r) Some ancient authors write, that Socrates married a second wife, named Myrto, who was the grand-daughter of Aristides the Just, and that he suffered exceedingly from them both, who were continually quarrelling with each other, and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and doing him all the offence they could invent. They pretend, that during the Peloponnesian war, after the pestilence had swept off great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to retrieve the sooner the ruins of the republick, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the same time, and that Socrates took the benefit of this new law. Those authors found this circumstance solely upon a passage in a treatise on nobility, ascribed to Aristotle. But besides that, according to Plutarch himself, Punctius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion, neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their master, say any thing of this second marriage of Socrates; and on another side, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponnesian war, are alike silent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy. We may see in the first volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, a dissertation of Monsieur Hardion's upon this subject, wherein he demonstrates, that the second marriage of Socrates, and the decree upon bigamy, are supposititious facts.

SECT. II. Of the *daemon*, or familiar spirit of SOCRATES.

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the genius, which, he said, had assisted him with its council and protection in the greatest part of his actions. It is not agreed amongst authors, what this genius was, commonly called *The Daemon of Socrates*, from the Greek word *Δαίμωνιον*, that signifies something of a divine nature, conceived as a secret voice, a sign, or such an inspiration as diviners

(s) Diog. in Socrat. p. 112. (r) Plut. in Aristid. p. 335. Athen. Lxxii. p. 555. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 103.

diviners are supposed to have had : This genius diverted him from the execution of his designs when they have been prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to act any thing : (u) *Esse divinum quoddam, quod Socrates demonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, saepe revocanti.* Plutarch, in his treatise intituled, *Of the genius of Socrates*, repeats the different sentiments of the ancients upon the existence and nature of this genius. (x) I shall confine myself to that of them, which seems the most natural and reasonable, though he does not lay much stress upon it.

We know that the divinity has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity ; that man cannot penetrate into its darkness but by uncertain and confused conjectures ; that those who succeed best in that research, are such, who by a more exact and studied comparison of the different causes capable of influencing future events, distinguish with greater force and perspicuity, what will be the result and issue of the conflict of those different causes in conducing to the success or miscarriage of an effect or enterprize. This foresight and discernment has something of divine in it, exalts us above the rest of mankind, approaches us to the divinity, and makes us participate in some measure in his councils and designs, by giving us an insight and prescience, to a certain degree, of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a just and piercing judgment, joined with the most exquisite prudence. He might call this judgment and prudence *Δαιμόνιον*, *something divine*, using indeed a kind of equivocality in the expression, without attributing to himself however the merit of his wisdom in conjecturing upon the future. The Abbé Fraguier comes very near the same opinion in the dissertation he has left us upon this subject in the (y) *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*.

(z) The effect, or rather function of this genius, was to stop and prevent his acting, without ever inducing him to act. He received also the same impulse, when his friends were going to engage in any bad affair, and communicated it to him ; and several instances are related, wherein they found themselves very unfortunate from not having believed him. Now what other signification can be given to this, than that it implies, under mysterious terms, a mind, which by its own lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a sort of insight into futurity ? And if Socrates had not intended to lessen in his own person the merit of an unerring judgment, by attributing it to a kind of instinct, if at bottom he had desired any thing

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(u) Cic. *de Divin.* l. i. n. 122.
p. 368.

(x) Page 580.

(y) Tom. IV.

(z) Plat. in *Theæt.* p. 128.

to be understood, besides the general aid of the divine wisdom which speaks in every man by the voice of reason, would I have escaped, says Xenophon (a), the censure of arrogance and falsehood?

(b) God has always prevented me from speaking to you, says he to Alcibiades, whilst the weakness of your age would have rendered my discourses ineffectual to you. But I conceive I may now enter into dispute with you, as an ambitious young man, for whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republick. Is it not visible here, that prudence prevented Socrates from treating Alcibiades seriously, at a time when grave and severe conversation would have given him a disgust of which he might perhaps never have got the better? (c) And when, in his dialogue upon the commonwealth, Socrates ascribes his avoiding publick business to inspiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he says in his Apology, that a just and good man, who intermeddles with the government in a corrupt state, is not long without perishing? If (d) when he appears before the judges that were to condemn him, that divine voice is not heard to prevent him, as it was upon dangerous occasions, the reason is, that he did not deem it misfortune for him to die, especially at his age, and in his circumstances. Every body knows what his prognostication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition to Sicily. He attributed it to his dæmon, and declared it to be the inspiration of that spirit. A wise man, who sees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with passion, may easily prophesy upon the event of it, without the aid of a dæmon's inspiration.

It must be allowed, however, that the opinion which gives men genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown, even to the pagans. (e) Plutarch cites the verses of Menander, in which that poet expressly says, *That every man at his birth has a good genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life as a guide and director.*

Ἄπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαραστέλλει
 εὖθ' ὅς γε γινώμεναι, μυσταγωγὸς τῷ βίῳ
 Ἄγαθός.

It may be believed with probability enough, that the dæmon of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of, and thereby made it a question, whether it was a good or bad angel

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(a) Memorab. l. i. p. 708. (b) Plat. in Alcib. p. 150. (c) Lib. vi de Rep. p. 496. Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32. (d) Ibid. p. 40. (e) D anim. tranquil. p. 474.

was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which acting according to the rules of prudence, and with the aid of a long experience, supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

I conceive at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that he knew futurity by any effect of the divinity whatsoever. That opinion might exalt him very much in the sense of the Athenians, and give him an authority, of which the greatest * persons of the pagan world were very fond, and which they endeavoured to acquire by secret communications, and pretended conferences, with some divinity : But it drew the jealousy of many of the citizens upon him.

SECT. III. SOCRATES declared the wisest of mankind by the oracle of Delphos.

(f) **T**HIS declaration of the oracle, so advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the enflaming envy, and stirring up of enemies against him, as he tells us himself in his Apology, wherein he recounts the occasion, and true sense of that oracle.

Chærephon, a zealous disciple of Socrates, happening to be at Delphos, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiser man than Socrates in the world : The priestess replied there was none. This answer puzzled Socrates extremely, who could scarce comprehend the sense of it. For on the one side, he well knew; says he of himself, that there was neither much nor little wisdom in him ; and on the other, he could not suspect the oracle of falshood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lye. He therefore considered it attentively, and took great pains to penetrate the sense of it. At first he applied himself to a powerful citizen ; a statesman, and a great politician, who passed for one of the wisest men of the city, and who was himself as much convinced of his own merit as any body. He found by his conversation that he knew nothing, and insinuated as much to himself in terms sufficiently intelligible ; which made him extremely odious to that citizen, and

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(f) Plut. in Apolog. p. 21, 22.

* *Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zuleucus pretended, that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva, Numa Pompilius boasted his conferences with the goddess Egéria. The first Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him secret counsels. Even Sertorius's blind* had something divine in it.

all who were present. He did the same by several others of same profession ; and all the fruit of his enquiry was, to do upon himself a greater number of enemies. From the state man he addressed himself to the poets, whom he found fuller of self-esteem, but really more void of knowledge and wisdom. He pursued his enquiries to the artisans, and could not meet with one, who, because he succeeded in his own : did not believe himself very capable, and fully informed in that was great besides ; which presumption was the almost universal failing of the Athenians. As they had natural abundance of wit, they pretended to be knowing in every thing, and believed themselves capable of pronouncing upon all things. His enquiries amongst strangers were not more successful.

Socrates afterwards entering into, and comparing him with all those he had questioned, discovered, that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that for his part, he sincerely professed his ignorance. From thence he concluded that only God is truly wise, and that the true meaning of oracle was to signify, that all human wisdom was no great matter, or to speak more properly, was nothing at all. As to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did so, says he, way of setting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, The wisest amongst you is he, who knows like Socrates, that there is no real wisdom in him.

SECT. IV. SOCRATES devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the youth of Athens. Affection of his disciples for him. admirable principles with which he inspires them either government or religion.

AFTER having related some particularities in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that, in which his character principally and peculiarly consisted ; I mean the part he took to instruct mankind, and particularly in forming the youth of Athens.

(g) He seemed, says Libanius, the common father of the republick, so attentive was he to the happiness and advancement

(g) In Apol. Socrat. p. 641.

<p>* Socrates in omnibus fere sermonibus sic disputat, ut nihil affirmet ipse, refellat alios : nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum, eoque præfate cæteris, quod illi, quæ nesciant, scire se putent : ipse se nihil scire id unum</p>	<p>sciat, ob eamque rem se arbitrari Apolline omnium sapientissimum dictum, quod hæc esset una cunctarum sapientia, non arbitrari se scire nesciat. Cic. Acad. Quest. 1. 1. 16.</p>
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of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

(b) He had no open school like the rest of the philosophers, nor set times for his lessons. He had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a professor's chair. He was the philosopher of all times and seasons. He taught in all places, and upon all occasions; in walking, conversation, at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the publick assemblies of the senate and people, in prison itself, and when he drank the poison he philosophized, says Plutarch, and instructed mankind. And from thence the same judicious author takes occasion to establish a great principle in point of government, which Seneca * before him had placed in all its light. To be a publick man, says he, it is not necessary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge or magistrate, and to sit in the highest tribunals for the administration of justice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and senators, if they want the merit of those characters, ought to be regarded as private persons, and often confounded with the lowest and vilest of the populace. But whoever knows to give wise council to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inspire them with sentiments of probity, equity, generosity, and love of their country; this is, says Plutarch, the true magistrate and ruler, in whatsoever condition or place he be.

Such was Socrates. The services he did the state, by the instructions he gave their youth, and the disciples he formed, are inexpressibly great. Never had master a greater number, or so illustrious, Plato, though alone, were worth a multitude.

(i) Upon the point of death he blessed and thanked God for three things; that he had endued him with a rational soul,

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that

(b) Plut. an seni sit. ger. resp. p. 796.

* Habet ubi se etiam in privato late explicet magnus animus—Ita delituerit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium suum absconderit, prodesse velit et singulis et universis, ingenio, voce, consilio. Nec enim in solus reip. prodest, qui candidatos extrahit, et equestres, et de pace belloque censet, sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniarum luxuriamque cursu succentes

(i) Plut. in Mario, p. 433.

prestat ac retrahit, et si nihil aliud certe moratur, in privato publicum negotium agit. An ille plus præstat, qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut urbanos prætor aduentibus adfessoris verba pronunciat; quam qui docet, quid sit justitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid deorum intellectus, quam gratuitum bonum sit conscientia? Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. iiii.

that he was born a Greek and not a Barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the life-time of Socrates. Xenophon (4) had the same advantage. It is said, that one day Socrates met him in the street, and stopping him with his staff, asked him whether he knew where provisions were sold? It was not difficult to answer this question. But Socrates having demanded in what place men learnt virtue, and seeing this second question put him to a stand: "If you desire to know it," continued the philosopher, "follow me, and you shall be informed." Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the first who collected and published his master's discourses.

(1) Aristippus, upon a conversation with Ischomachus, in which he had introduced some strokes of Socrates's doctrine, conceived so ardent a passion to become his disciple, that he grew lean and wan in effect of it, till he could go to the fountain-head, and imbibe his fill of a philosophy, that taught the knowledge and cure of evil.

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains still better how high the passion of Socrates's disciples ran, to receive the benefit of his instructions. (m) There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara, which was carried on with so much animosity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waste the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians to set foot in Attica upon pain of death. This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. (n) He left his city in the evening in the disguise of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the house of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the same manner he came.

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him was incredible. They left father and mother, and renounced all parties of pleasure, to attach themselves to him, and to hear his discourses. We may judge of this in the example of Alcibiades, the most ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philosopher however never spared him, and was always ready to calm the sallies of his passions, and to rebuke his pride, which was his great disease. I have before related some instances of this temper of his. (o) One day when Alcibiades was boasting of his wealth, and the great estates in his possession, (which generally blow up the pride of young people of quality,) he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica.

(4) Diog. in Xenoph. p. 120. (1) Plut. de Curios. p. 516. (m) Plut. in Peric. p. 168. (n) Aul. Gel. Noct. l. vi. c. 20. (o) Ælian. l. iiii. c. 22.

Attica. It was so small it could scarce be discerned upon that draught; he found it, however, though with some difficulty: But upon being desired to point out his own estate there: "It is too small," says he, "to be distinguished in so little a space." "See then," replied Socrates, "how much you are affected about an imperceptible point of land." This reasoning might have been urged much further still. For what was Attica compared to all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itself to the vast extent of the infinite orbs which surround it? What an insect, what a nothing, is the most powerful prince of the earth in the midst of this abyss of bodies and immense spaces, and how much of it does he occupy!

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for some time the lessons of the sophists, who promised to make them very great politicians, conceived themselves capable of every thing, and aspired at the highest employments. (p) One of these, named Glauco, had taken it so strongly into his head, to enter upon the administration of the publick affairs, though not twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a design so little consistent with his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him upon account of Plato his brother, was the only person that could prevail upon him to change his resolution.

Meeting him one day, he accosted him so happily with discourse, that he engaged him to give him the hearing. "You are desirous then to govern the republick," said he to him. "True," replied Glauco. "You cannot have a more noble design," answered Socrates: "For if you succeed, you will have it in your power to serve your friends effectually, to aggrandize your family, and to extend the confines of your country. You will make yourself known not only to Athens, but throughout all Greece, and perhaps your renown, like that of Themistocles, may spread abroad amongst the barbarous nations. In short, wherever you are, you will attract the respect and admiration of the whole world."

So smooth and insinuating a prelude was extremely pleasing to the young man, who was taken by his blind side. He staid willingly, gave no occasion to press him on that account, and the conversation continued. "Since you desire to be esteemed and honoured, no doubt your view is to be useful to the
"publick?"

"publick?" "Certainly." "Tell me then, I beg you, in the name of the gods, what is the first service you propose to render the state?" As Glauco seemed at a loss, and meditated upon what he should answer: "I presume," continues Socrates, "it is to enrich it, that is to say, to augment its revenues." "My very thought." "You are well versed then undoubtedly in the revenues of the state, and know perfectly to what they may amount: You have not failed to make them your particular study, in order that if a fund should happen to fail by any unforeseen accident, you might be able to supply the deficiency by another." "I protest," replied Glauco, "that never entered into my thoughts." "At least you will tell me to what the expences of the republick amount; for you must know the importance of retrenching such as are superfluous." "I own I am as little informed in this point as the other." "You must therefore refer your design of enriching the state till another time; for it is impossible you should do it, whilst you are unacquainted with its revenues and expences."

"But," said Glauco, "there is still another means which you have not mentioned: A state may be enriched by the ruin of its enemies." "You are in the right," replied Socrates. "But that depends upon its being the strongest; otherwise it incurs the danger of losing what it has. For which reason, he who talks of engaging in a war, ought to know the forces on both sides; that if he finds his own party strongest, he may boldly advise the war, and if weakest, dissuade the people from undertaking it. Now do you know the strength of our republick and that of our enemies by sea and land? Have you a state of them in writing? Be so kind to let me see it." "I have it not at present," said Glauco. "I see then," said Socrates, "that we shall not presently enter into a war, if you are charged with the government; for you have abundance of enquiries to make, and much pains to go through, before you will resolve upon it."

He ran over in this manner several other articles no less important, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted; till he brought him to confess, how ridiculous those people were, who have the rashness to intrude into government, without any other preparation for the service of the publick, than that of an high esteem for themselves, and an immoderate ambition of rising to the first places and dignities, "Have a care, dear Glauco," said he to him, "lest a too warm desire of honours should deceive you into pursuits that may cover

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“ you with shame, by setting your incapacity and slender abilities in full light.”

Glauco improved from the wise admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himself in private, before he ventured to appear in publick. This is a lesson for all ages, and may be very useful to persons in all stations and conditions of life.

(g) Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon publick employments; but first to take pains for the attainment of the knowledge necessary to their success in them. (r) “ A man must be very simple,” said he, “ to believe that the mechanick arts are not to be acquired without the help of proper masters, and that the knowledge requisite in governing states, which is the highest degree of human prudence, demands no previous labour and application.” His great care in regard to those, who aspired at publick employments, was to form their manners upon the solid principles of probity and justice; and especially to inspire them with a sincere love of their country, with the most ardent passion for the publick good, and an high idea of the power and goodness of the gods: Because, without these qualities, all other abilities serve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has transmitted to us a conversation of Socrates with Euthydemus, upon providence, which is one of the finest passages to be found in the writings of the ancients.

“ Did you never reflect within yourself,” says Socrates to Euthydemus, “ how much care the gods have taken to bestow upon man all that is necessary to his nature?” “ Never,” I assure you,” replied he. “ You see,” continued Socrates, “ how necessary light is, and how precious that gift of the gods ought to appear to us.” Without it,” added Euthydemus, “ we should be like the blind, and all nature as if it were not, or were dead: But because we have occasion for suspense and relaxation, they have also given us the night for our repose.” “ You are in the right, and for this we ought to render them continual praises and thanksgiving. They have ordained that the sun, that bright and luminous star, should preside over the day to distinguish its different parts, and that its light should not only serve to discover the wonders of nature, but to dispense universal life and heat; and at the same time they have commanded the moon and stars to illuminate the night, of itself dark and obscure. Is there any thing more admirable than this variety and vicissitude of day and night, of light and darkness, of labour

“ and

“ and rest ; and all this for the convenience and good of man ?” Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water in the occasions of life ; and continuing to observe upon the wonderful attention of providence in all that regards us, “ What say you,” pursued he, “ upon the sun’s return after winter to re-visit us, and that as the fruits of one season wither and decay, he ripens new ones to succeed them ? That having rendered man this service, he retires, lest he should incommode him by excess of heat ; and then after having removed to a certain point, which he could not pass without putting us in danger of perishing with cold, that he returns in the same track to resume his place in those parts of the heavens, where his presence is most beneficial to us ? And because we could neither support the cold or heat, if we were to pass in an instant from the one to the other, do you not admire, that whilst this star approaches and removes so slowly, the two extremities arrive by almost insensible degrees ? * Is it possible not to discover, in this disposition of the seasons of the year, a providence and goodness, not only attentive to our necessities, but even our delights and enjoyments ?”

“ All these things,” said Euthydemus, “ make me doubt, whether the gods have any other employment than to shower down their gifts and graces upon mankind. There is one point, however, that puts me to a stand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all these blessings as well as ourselves.” “ Yes,” replied Socrates : “ but do you but observe, that all these animals subsist only for man’s service ? The strongest and most vigorous of them he subjects at his will, he makes them tame and gentle, and uses them successfully in his wars, his labours, and the other occasions of life.”

“ What if we consider man in himself.” Here Socrates examines the diversity of the senses, by the ministry of which man enjoys all that is best and most excellent in nature ; the vivacity of his wit, and the force of his reason, which exalt him infinitely above all other animals ; the wonderful gift of speech, by the means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publish our laws, and govern states.

“ From all this,” says Socrates, “ it is easy to discern that there are gods, and that they have man in their particular care, though he cannot discover them by his senses. Do we perceive the thunder, whilst it strikes through all things
“ which

* Οὐρανὸς ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοῦτον τὸν ἀστέρα, ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀφαιρᾷ τὴν θερμότητα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀφαιρᾷ τὴν ψυχρότητα.

“ which oppose it? Do we distinguish the winds, whilst they
 “ are tearing up all before them in our view? Our soul itself,
 “ with which we are so intimate, which moves and acts us,
 “ is it visible, can we behold it? It is the same with regard to
 “ the gods, of whom none are visible in the distribution of
 “ their favours. The GREAT GOD himself,” (these words
 are remarkable; and demonstrate that Socrates acknowledged
 one supreme God, the author of all being, and superior to all
 others, who were only the ministers of his will,) “ this great
 “ God, who has formed the universe, and supports the stu-
 “ pendous work, whose every part is finished with the utmost
 “ goodness and harmony; he who preserves them perpetually
 “ in immortal vigour, and causes them to obey him with a
 “ never-failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be followed
 “ by our imagination; this God makes himself sufficiently
 “ visible by the endless wonders of which he is author; but
 “ continues always invisible in himself. Let us not then re-
 “ fuse to believe even what we do not see, and let us supply
 “ the defects of our corporeal eyes, by using those of the soul;
 “ but especially let us learn to render the just homage of re-
 “ spect and veneration to the divinity, whose will it seems to
 “ be, that we should have no other perception of him than by
 “ his effects in our favour. Now this adoration, this homage,
 “ consists in pleasing him, and we can only please him in
 “ doing his will.”

(1) In this manner Socrates instructed youth; these are the
 principles and sentiments he inspired into them; on the one
 side, a perfect submission to the laws and magistrates, in which
 he made justice consist; on the other, a profound regard for the
 Divinity, which constitutes religion. In things surpassing our
 understanding, he advises us to consult the gods; and as they
 impart themselves only to those that please them, he recom-
 mends above all things the making of them propitious by a
 wise regularity of conduct. * *The gods are wise*, says he, *and it*
depends upon them either to grant what we ask, or to give us the di-
rectly reverse of it. He cites an excellent prayer from an anony-
 mous poet: *Great God, give us, we beseech thee, those good things*
of which we stand in need, whether we crave them or not; and re-
move from us all those, which may be hurtful to us, though we
implore them of you. The vulgar imagined, that there are
 things which the gods observe, and others of which they take
 no notice: But Socrates taught, that the gods observe all our
 actions

(1) Xenoph. memorab. l. iv. p. 803, & 805.

* *Ἐστὶ θεὸς σοφός, ὃς μὴ θέλει δέχασθαι τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκτεταγμένων, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα καὶ τὰ κακά, ὅσα ἐκείνους ἀναγκαῖα εἰσὶν, ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀπορρίπτει.*
 Plut. in Alcib. l. ii. p. 148.

actions and word; that they penetrate into our most thoughts, are present in all our deliberations, and that inspire us in all our actions.

SECT. V. *SOCRATES applies himself to discredit the sophists, the opinion of the young Athenians: What is to be understood the ironical character ascribed to him.*

SOCRATES found it necessary to prejudice the people against a bad taste, which had prevailed for time in Greece. A sect of assuming men arose, who ran themselves as the first sages of Greece, were entirely the reverse in their conduct. For, instead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, like Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and others, who made a study of wisdom their principal occupation, these men were ambitious and covetous, entered into intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of pretended knowledge*. (1) They were called sophists, wandered from city to city. They caused themselves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crowds of their disciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents, to follow these preachers, whom they paid a great price for their instruction.

There was nothing these masters did not profess: Theology, physics, ethicks, arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, metaphysics, rhetoric, and history. They knew every thing, could teach every thing. Their greatest supposed skill: philosophy and eloquence. Most of them, like Gorgias, flattered themselves upon giving immediate answers to all questions that could be proposed to them. Their young disciples required nothing from their preceptors, but a silly esteem for themselves, and an universal contempt for every body else; so that not a scholar quitted these schools, but was more impertinent than when he first entered them.

It was necessary to decri the false eloquence and bad logic of these proud teachers in the sense of the young Athenians. To attack them in front, and dispute with them in a calm manner by a continued discourse was what Socrates could have done, for he possessed in a supreme degree the talents of speaking and reasoning; but this was no means to succeed against great harangues, whose sole aim was to dazzle auditors with a vain glitter, and rapid flow of words.

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(1) Plut. in Apolog. p. 19, 20.

* Sic enim appellatur hi, qui ostentationis aut quæstus causa per phantasiâ. Cic. in Lucul. li. 229.

therefore took another course, and * employing the turns and address of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he chose to conceal, under the appearance of simplicity and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius. Nature, which had given him so fine a soul, seemed to have formed his outside expressly for supporting the ironick character. He was very ugly, and besides that, † had something very blockish and stupid in his physiognomy. The whole air of his person, which had nothing but what was very common and very poor in it, perfectly corresponded with that of his countenance.

When ‡ he happened into the company of some one of the sophists, he proposed his doubts with a diffident and modest air, asked simple questions in a plain manner, as if he had been incapable of expressing himself otherwise, made use of trivial comparisons, and allusions taken from the meanest employments. The sophist heard him with a scornful attention, and instead of giving him a precise answer, fell into his common places, and talked a great deal without saying any thing to the purpose. Socrates, after having praised (not to enrage) his adversary, entreated him to adapt himself to his weakness, and to descend so low as him, by satisfying his questions in a few words; because neither his wit nor memory were capable of comprehending or retaining so many fine and exalted notions, and that all his knowledge was confined to question and answer.

This passed in a numerous assembly, and the scientifick person could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his intrenchment, by obliging him to answer his questions succinctly, he carried him on from one to another to the most absurd consequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himself, or be silent, he complained, that the learned man would not vouchsafe to instruct him. The young people however perceived the incapacity of their master, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of sophist became odious and ridiculous.

It

* Socrates in ironia dissimulantia- que longè omnibus lepore atque humanitate præstitit. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 270.

† Zopyras physiognomon—stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum. Cic. de Fat n. 10.

‡ Socrates de se ipse detrahens in disputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita, cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libatur uti so-

litus est illa dissimulatione, quam Græci *σιγητήριον* vocant. Cic. Acad. Quest. l. iv. n. 15.

Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros sophistas, ut è Platone intelligi potest, lutos videmus à Socrate. Is enim percontando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum dissererat, ut ad ea, quæ ii responsissent, si quid videretur, diceret. Cic. de Finib. l. ii. n. 24.

It is easy to judge, that men of the sophist's character, of which I have now spoke, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongst the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, because they had been taken in the two most sensible points, their fame, and their interest. (u) Socrates, for having endeavoured to unmask their vices, and discredit their false eloquence, experienced, from these corrupt and haughty men, all that could be feared or expected from the most malignant envy, and the most envenomed hatred; to which it is now time to proceed.

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(x) His enemies having sworn his destruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at distance, and at first attacked him in the dark, and by obscure and secret methods. It is said, that to found the people's disposition in regard to Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be safe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Aristophanes to bring him into the theatre in a comedy, wherein the first seeds of the accusation meditated against him were sown. It is not certain whether Aristophanes was suborned by Anytus, and the rest of Socrates's enemies, to compose that satirical piece against him. It is very likely, that the declared contempt of Socrates for all comedies in general, and for those of Aristophanes in particular, whilst he proposed an extraordinary esteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge on the philosopher. However it were, Aristophanes, to the disgrace of poetry, lent his pen to the malice

(u) Plat. in Apolog. p. 29.

* A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 403.

(x) *Albian*, l. ii. c. 13. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 19.

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him thither against his will, offended at the unbounded licence which reigned in them, and incapable of seeing the reputation of his fellow-citizens publicly torn in pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing any discontent; and some strangers being in pain to know who the Socrates (*x*) intended by the play was, he rose up from his seat, and shewed himself during the whole representation. He told those who were near him, and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himself at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was necessary to let raillery pass.

There is no appearance, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, though he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occasioning his destruction. It is more probable, that a poet, who diverted the publick at the expence of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was able willing to make them laugh at the expence of a philosopher. All the guilt was on the side of those who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making great use of the representation of this comedy against him. The artifice was indeed profound, and conceived with skill. In acting a man upon the stage, he is only represented on his bad, weak, or ambiguous sides. That view of him is followed with ridicule: Ridicule accustoms people to the contempt of his person, and contempt proceeds to injustice. For the world are naturally bold in insulting, abusing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of their contempt.

These were the first blows struck at him, and served as an essay and trial of the great affair meditated against him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out in twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republick might well occasion that long delay. For it was in that interval the enterprize against Sicily happened, the event of which was so unfortunate, that Athens was besieged and taken by Lysander, who changed its form of government, and established the thirty tyrants, that were not expelled till a very small time before the affair we speak of.

* Melitus then appeared as accuser, and entered a process in form against Socrates. His accusation consisted of two heads. The first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republick, and introduced new divinities: The second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring, that sentence of death ought to pass against him.

Never

Never had accusation so little probability, pretext, or foundation as this. It was now forty years, that Socrates had made it his profession to instruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in secret, and in the dark. His lessons were given publicly and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always observed the same conduct, and taught the same principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accusation, after such a length of time? How came his zeal for the publick good, after having been languid and drowsy for so many years, to awake on a sudden, and become so violent? Is it pardonable, for so warm and worthy a citizen as Melitus would appear, to have continued mute and inactive, whilst any one corrupted the whole youth of that city, by instilling seditious maxims into them, and by inspiring them with a disgust and contempt for the established government? For he who does not prevent an evil, when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. (b) Libanius speaks thus in a declamation of his called the Apology of Socrates. But, continues he, though Melitus, whether out of distraction, indifference, or real avocation of his affairs, never thought for so many years of entering an accusation against Socrates; how it came to pass, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wise magistrates, and, what is more, with bold informers, so publick a conspiracy, as that imputed to Socrates, should escape the eyes of those, whom either the love of their country, or invidious malignity, render so vigilant and attentive? Nothing was ever less feasible, or more void of all probability.

(c) As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lysias, the most able orator of his times, brought him an elaborate discourse of his composing; wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in all their light, and interspersed the whole with tender and pathetick strokes, (d) capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly, that it did not suit him. Upon which Lysias, having asked how it was possible to be well done, and at the same time not suit him; in the same manner, said he, wing according to his custom a vulgar comparison, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or shoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be want-

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(b) Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 645—648.
n. 233, 233.

(d) Quint. l. xi. c. 1.

(c) Cicet. l. i. de Orat.

ing on his part, but which however would not fit me. He persisted therefore inflexibly in the resolution, not to demean himself by begging suffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the gluer of eloquence. He had no recourse either to sollicitation or entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their sighs and tears. Nevertheless, * though he firmly refused to make use of any voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal. It was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul, and the consciousness of his truth and innocence. So that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament but that of truth, and brightened universally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and without any additions composed from it the work, which he calls *The Apology of Socrates*, one of the most consummate master-pieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

(e) Upon the day assigned, the proceeding commenced in the usual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke. The worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness. He omitted nothing that might render the adverse party odious; and instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive shine of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in observing that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accusers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part he scarce knew himself, they had given such artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

(f) I have already said, that their accusation consisted of two heads. The first regards religion. Socrates enquires out of an impious curiosity into what passes in the heavens, and in the bowels of the earth. He denies the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce a new worship, and, if he

(e) Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. Xenoph in Apolog. Socrat & in Memor.

(f) Plat. in Apolog. p. 24.

* His et talibus adductus Socrates, hibiuitque liberam contumaciam à magnitudine animi ductam, non à superbis. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i.

re may be believed, an unknown god inspires him in all his actions. To make short, he believes there are no gods.

The second head relates to the interest and government of the state. Socrates corrupts the youth by instilling bad sentiments concerning the Divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the laws, and the order established in the republic; by declaring openly against the choice of the magistrates by lot; by exclaiming against the publick assemblies, where he is never seen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worst of causes good; by attaching the youth to himself out of a spirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of instructing them; and by proving to children, that they may abuse their parents with impunity. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himself the wisest of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns without reserve all their maxims and actions; constituting himself by his own authority the general censor and reformer of the state. Notwithstanding which, the effects of his lessons may be seen in the persons of Critias and Alcibiades, his most intimate friends, who have done great mischiefs to their country, and have been the most wicked of citizens, and the most abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges, to be very much upon their guard against the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to suspect extremely the insinuating and artificial turns of address, which he would employ to deceive them.

(g) Socrates began his discourse with this point, and declared that he would speak to the judges as it was his custom to talk in his common conversation, that is to say, with much simplicity, and no art.

(b) He then proceeds to particulars. Upon what foundation can it be alledged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republick; he, who has been often seen to sacrifice in his own house, and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uses divination or not, whilst it is made a crime in him to report, that he received counsels from a certain divinity; and hence concluded that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others, who, putting their faith in divination, observe the flight of birds, consult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental en-

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counters:

(g) Plat. p. 17. (b) Plat. p. 27. Xenoph. p. 703.

* Socrates in reality did not approve his manner of electing the magistrates. It is observed, that when a pilot, a physician, or an architect is consulted, nobody is willing to take him at a venture; though the faults of these people are far from being of the great importance of those errors which are committed in the administration of the republick. Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 712.

counters : Different means, which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future. Old or new, it is still evident, that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confession of even Melitus himself, who in his information avers that he believes dæmons, that is to say, subaltern spirits, the offspring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods.

(i) As to what relates to the impious enquiries into natural things imputed to him ; without despising or condemning those who apply themselves to the study of physicks, he declares, that as for him, he had entirely devoted himself to what concerns moral virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more useful than any other ; and he calls upon all those who have been his hearers, to come forth and belye him if he does not say what is true.

“ I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profession to teach, nor can envy, however violent against me, reproach me with having ever sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leisure to question or answer me, I lend myself to every one who is desirous of becoming virtuous ; and if amongst those who hear me, there are any that prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me. My whole employment is to persuade the young and old against too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things of whatsoever nature they be, and against too little regard for the soul, which ought to be the object of their affection : For I incessantly urge to you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but on the contrary riches from virtue ; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

“ If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of my falsehood. I see here a great number of my disciples ; they have only to appear. But perhaps the reserve and consideration for a master, who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me : At least their fathers, brothers,

“ brothers, and uncles cannot, as good relations and good
 “ citizens, dispense with their not standing forth to demand
 “ vengeance against the corrupter of their sons, brothers, and
 “ nephews. But these are the persons who take upon them
 “ my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my
 “ cause.

“ (k) Pass on me what sentence you please, Athenians ; but
 “ I can neither repent nor change my conduct. I must not
 “ abandon or suspend a function, which God himself has im-
 “ posed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of
 “ instructing my fellow-citizens. If after having faithfully
 “ kept all the posts, wherein I was placed by our generals at
 “ Po.idæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should
 “ at this time make me abandon that in which the Divine Pro-
 “ vidence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life
 “ in the study of philosophy for the instruction of myself and
 “ others ; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and
 “ make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal,
 “ as an impious man who does not believe the gods. Should
 “ you resolve to acquit me for the future, I should not hesitate
 “ to make answer, Athenians, I honour and love you, but I
 “ shall chuse rather to obey * God than you, and to my latest
 “ breath shall never renounce my philosophy, nor cease to
 “ exhort and reprove you according to my custom, by telling
 “ each of you when you come in my way, *My † good friend,*
 “ *and citizen of the most famous city in the world for wisdom and*
 “ *valour, are you not ashamed to have no other thoughts than that*
 “ *of amassing wealth, and of acquiring glory, credit, and dig-*
 “ *nities, whilst you neglect the treasures of prudence, truth, and*
 “ *wisdom, and take no pains in rendering your soul as good and*
 “ *perfect as it is capable of being ?*

“ (l) I am reproached with abject fear and meanness of
 “ spirit, for being so busy in imparting my advice to every
 “ one in private, and for having always avoided to be present
 “ in your assemblies, to give my counsels to my country. I
 “ think I have sufficiently proved my courage and fortitude
 “ both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in
 “ the senate, when I alone opposed the unjust sentence you
 “ pronounced against the ten captains, who had not taken up
 “ and interred the bodies of those who were killed or drowned
 “ in the sea-fight near the island Arginusæ ; and when, upon
 “ more than one occasion, I opposed the violent and cruel

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“ orders

(k) Plat. p. 28, 29.

(l) Idem, p. 31.

* *Θεὸν ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβούμενος*.

† *The Great signifies, O best of* | *men, & ἀποστολὴν ἔχων ; which was an*
obliging manner of addressing.

" orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has pre-
 " vented me from appearing in your assemblies? It is that
 " demon, that voice divine, which you have so often heard
 " me mention, and Melitus has taken so much pains to ridi-
 " cule. That spirit has attached itself to me from my infancy :
 " It is a voice, which I never hear, but when it would prevent
 " me from persisting in something I have resolved, for it never
 " exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is the same being,
 " that has always opposed me, when I would have intermed-
 " dled in the affairs of the republick; and that with the
 " greatest reason; for I should have been amongst the dead
 " long ago, had I been concerned in the measures of the state,
 " without effecting any thing to the advantage of myself, or
 " our country. Do not take it ill, I beseech you, if I speak
 " my thoughts without disguise, and with truth and freedom.
 " Every man who would generously oppose a whole people,
 " either amongst us or elsewhere, and who inflexibly applies
 " himself to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice
 " of iniquity in a government, will never do so long with
 " impunity. It is absolutely necessary for him, who would
 " contend for justice, if he has any thoughts of living, to
 " remain in a private station, and never to have any share in
 " publick affairs.

" (m) For the rest, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger
 " I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of those, who
 " upon less emergencies have implored and supplicated their
 " judges with tears, and have brought forth their children,
 " relations, and friends, it is not through pride and obstinacy,
 " or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and
 " for that of the whole city. You should know, that there
 " are amongst our citizens, those who do not regard death as
 " as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and
 " infamy. At my age, and with the reputation true or false
 " which I have, would it be consistent for me, after all the
 " lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid
 " of it myself, and to belye in my last action all the principles
 " and sentiments of my past life.

" But without speaking of my fame, which I should ex-
 " tremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allow-
 " able to entreat a judge, nor to be absolved by supplications :
 " He ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does
 " not sit upon the bench to shew favour by violating the laws,
 " but to do justice in conforming to them. He does not swear
 " to discharge with impunity whom he pleases; but to do
 " justice

" justice where it is due. We ought not therefore to accustom
 " you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed
 " to it ; for in so doing, both the one and the other of us
 " equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminals.

" Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians, that I should
 " have recourse amongst you to means which I believe neither
 " honest nor lawful ; especially upon this occasion, wherein
 " I am accused of impiety by Melitus. For if I should in-
 " fluence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to vio-
 " late your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that I teach
 " you not to believe in the gods ; and even in defending and
 " justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms
 " against me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But I am
 " very far from such bad thoughts. I am more convinced of
 " the existence of God than my accusers, and so convinced,
 " that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge
 " of me as you shall deem best for yourselves and me."

Socrates * pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his visage expressed nothing of the accused : He seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without however losing any thing of that modesty natural to him. So noble and majestick a deportment displeased and gave offence. It is common for † judges, who look upon themselves as the absolute dispensers of life or death to such as are before them, to expect, out of a secret tendency of mind, that they should appear in their presence with humble submission and respectful awe ; an homage which they think due to their supreme authority.

This was what happened now. Melitus however had not at first the fifth part of the voices. We have reason to suppose that the judges assembled upon this occasion might amount to five hundred, without reckoning the president. The law condemned the accuser to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas ‡, if he had not the fifth part of the suffrages. This law had been wisely established to check the boldness and impudence of calumniators. Melitus had been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and presented themselves also as the accusers of Socrates. Their credit drew over a great number of voices, and there were two hundred and

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four-

* Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse judicium, *Cic. l. i. de Orat.*

n. 231.

† Odit judex fere litigantis securitatem ; cumque jus suum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam postulat. *Quint. l. iv. c. 1.*

‡ 500 livres.

fourſcore againſt Socrates, and in conſequence only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted no more than thirty-one * to have been acquitted; for he would then have had two hundred and fifty-one, which would have been the majority.

By this firſt ſentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without decreeing him any † penalty. For when the law did not determine the puniſhment, and when a crime againſt the ſtate was not in queſtion (in which manner I conceive Cicero's terms, *fraus capitalis*, may be underſtood) the perſon found guilty had a right to chuſe the penalty he thought he deſerved. Upon his answer the judges deliberated a ſecond time, and afterwards paſſed their final ſentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of the penalty, and change the condemnation of death into baniſhment, imprisonment, or a fine. He replied generouſly, that he would chuſe neither of thoſe puniſhments, becauſe that would be to acknowledge himſelf guilty. "Athenians," ſaid he, "to keep you no longer in ſuſpence, as you oblige me to ſentence myſelf according to what I deſerve, I condemn myſelf for having paſſed my life in inſtructing yourſelves and your children; for having neglected with that view my domeſtick affairs, and all publick employments, and dignities; for having devoted myſelf entirely to the ſervice of my country, in labouring inceſſantly to render my fellow-citizens virtuous. I condemn myſelf, I ſay, to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the expence of the republick for the reſt of my life." || This laſt answer ſo much offended the judges, that they condemned him to drink the hemlock, a puniſhment very much in uſe amongſt them.

(n) This ſentence did not ſhake the conſtancy of Socrates in the leaſt. "I am going," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his

(n) Plat. p. 39.

* The text varies in Plato; it ſays, thirty-three, or thirty, whence it is probably defective.

† *Primis ſententiis ſtatuebant tantum judices damnarent an abſolverent. At autem Athenis, reo damnato, ſi fraus capitalis non eſſet, quaſi pœnæ æſtimatio. Ex ſententia, cum iudicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quaſi æſtimationem commiſſe ſe maxime conſiteretur. Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 232.*

|| It appears in Plato, that after this diſcourſe, Socrates without doubt to remove from him all imputation of pride and contumacy, modeſtly offered to pay

a fine proportionate to his indigence, that is to ſay, one mina (fifty ſilveres) and that at the inſtances of his friends, who had bound themſelves for him, he roſe to his offer to thirty minæ. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 38. But Xenophon poſitively aſſerts the contrary, p. 705. This difference may be reconciled, perhaps, by ſuppoſing that Socrates reſuſed at firſt to make any offer, and that he ſuffered himſelf at length to be overcome by the earneſt ſolicitations of his friends.

§ Cujus reſponſo ſic judices exaſerunt, ut capitis hominem innocentiffimum condemnarent. Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 233.

his judges with a noble tranquillity, " to suffer death by your order, to which nature had condemned me from the first moment of my birth ; but my accusers will suffer no less from infamy and injustice by the decrees of truth. Did you expect from me, that to extricate myself out of your hands, I should have employed, according to the custom, flattery and pathetick expressions, and the timorous and creeping behaviour of a suppliant ? But in trials, as well as war, an honest man ought not to use all sorts of means for the preservation of his life. It is equally dishonourable both in the one and the other, to ransom it only by prayers, and tears, and all those other abject methods, you see every day practised by people in my present condition."

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and disciples, having advanced to him to express his grief for his dying innocent : *What*, replied he with a smile, *would you have had me die guilty ?*

(o) Plutarch, to shew, that only our weakest part the body, is in the power of man ; but that there is another infinitely more noble part of us entirely superior to their threats, and inaccessible to their inflictions, cites these admirable words of Socrates, which are more applicable to his judges than his accusers, *Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me.* As if he had said, in the language of the Pagans ; Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life ; but I have a treasure within me, of which no violence can deprive me, I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatness of mind.

This great man *, fully convinced of the principle he had so often inculcated to his disciples, that guilt is the only evil a wise man ought to fear, chose rather to be deprived of some years, which he might have to live, than to forfeit in an instant the glory of his whole past life, in dishonouring himself for ever by the shameful behaviour he was advised to observe with his judges. Seeing that his own times had but a slight knowledge of him, he referred himself from it to the judgment of posterity, and by the generous sacrifice of a very advanced life, acquired and assured to himself the esteem and admiration of all succeeding ages.

(o) De anim. tranquil. p. 475.

* Maluit vir sapientissimus quod superesset ex vita sibi perire, quam quod præterisset: et quando ab hominibus sui temporis parum intelligebatur, posterorum se judiciis reservavit, brevi detrimento jam ultimæ senectutis ævum seculorum omnium consecutus. Quint. l. i. c. 1.

SECT. VII. SOCRATES *refuses to escape out of prison. He passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul. He drinks the poison. Punishment of his accusers. Honours paid to his memory.*

AFTER the sentence had been passed upon him, * Socrates with the same intrepid aspect, with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward towards the prison, which lost that name, says Seneca, when he entered it, and became the residence of virtue and probity. His friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during thirty days, which passed between his condemnation and death. The cause of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices; and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal of its departure, till the same vessel should return. So that sentence having been passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunity to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event, of which nature is always abhorrent. (p) In this sad condition he did not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind, which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the same temper he had always expressed, and Crito observes, that the evening before his death, he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He composed also an hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æsop's fables into verse.

The day before, or the same day that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning, to let him know that bad news, and at the same time, that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the jailer was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Theffaly. Socrates

(p) Plat. in Criton.

* Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando solus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipsi loco detracturus. Neque enim poterat carcer vid ri, in

quo Socrates erat. Senec. in Consol ad Helvet. c. xiii.

Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omnique honestiorem curia reddidit. Id. de vit. beat. c. xxvii.

crates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, *whether he knew any place out of Attica, where people did not die?* Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take the advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his consent, and to engage him to resolve upon his escape. Without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer, for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have saved him, but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose? Can the people ever be persuaded that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison, when he might do it with all possible security? Perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates? Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them; many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to purchase his escape; and declare, that they should think themselves highly honoured to receive him amongst them, and to supply him abundantly with all he should have occasion for. Ought he to abandon himself to enemies, who have occasioned his being condemned unjustly, and can he think it allowable to betray his own cause? Is it not essential to his goodness and justice, to spare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all these motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himself, can he be insensible to the interests of his children? In what a condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father, to remember only the philosopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praised his zeal, and expressed his gratitude; but before he could give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. The question therefore here, is to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjustly, can without a crime escape from justice and the laws? I do not know, whether, even amongst us, there are not many persons to be found who believe that this may be made a question.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the subject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair.

"I should certainly rejoice extremely, most dear Crito, that
 "you could persuade me to quit this place, but cannot resolve
 "to do so, without being first persuaded. We ought not to
 "be in pain upon what the people say, but for what the sole
 "Judge of all that is just or unjust shall pronounce upon us,

“ and that alone is truth. All the considerations you have
 “ alledged, as to money, reputation, family, prove nothing,
 “ unless you shew me, that what you propose is just and law-
 “ ful. It is a received and constant principle with us, that
 “ all injustice is shameful and fatal to him that commits it,
 “ whatever men may say, or whatever good or evil may be
 “ consequential of it. We have always reasoned from this
 “ principle even to our latest days, and have never departed
 “ in the least from it. Would it be possible, dear Crito, that
 “ at our age our most serious discourses should resemble those
 “ of infants, who say yes and no almost in the same breath,
 “ and have nothing of fixed and determinate ?” At each pro-
 position he waited Crito’s answer and assent.

“ Let us therefore resume our principles, and endeavour to
 “ make use of them at this time. It has always been a maxim
 “ with us, that it is never allowable upon any pretence what-
 “ soever to commit injustice, not even in regard to those who
 “ injure us, nor to return evil for evil, and that when we have
 “ once engaged our word, we are bound to keep it inviolably ;
 “ no interest being capable to dispense with it. Now if at the
 “ time I should be ready to make my escape, the laws and
 “ republick should present themselves in a body before me,
 “ what could I answer to the following questions which they
 “ might put to me ? What are you going to do, Socrates ?
 “ To fly from justice in this manner, is it aught else but
 “ ruining entirely the laws and the republick ? Do you believe,
 “ that a state subsists, after justice is not only no longer in
 “ force in it, but is even corrupted, subverted, and trod under
 “ foot by particulars ? But, say I, the republick has done me
 “ injustice, and has sentenced me wrongfully. Have you
 “ forgot, the laws would reply, that you are under an agree-
 “ ment with us to submit your private judgment to the repub-
 “ lick ? You were at liberty, if our government and constita-
 “ tions did not suit you, to retire and settle yourself elsewhere :
 “ But a residence of seventy years in our city sufficiently de-
 “ notes, that our plan has not displeased you, and that you
 “ have complied with it from an entire knowledge and expe-
 “ rience of it, and out of choice. In effect you owe all you
 “ are, and all you possess, to it : Birth, nurture, education,
 “ and establishment ; for all these proceed from the tuition
 “ and protection of the republick. Do you believe yourself
 “ free to break through engagements with her, which you
 “ have confirmed by more than one oath ? Though she should
 “ intend to destroy you, can you render her evil for evil, and
 “ injury for injury ? Have you a right to act in that manner
 “ with

“ with your father and mother ; and do you not know, that
 “ your country is more considerable, and more worthy of
 “ respect before God and man, than either father or mother,
 “ or all the relations in the world together ; that your country
 “ is to be honoured and revered, to be complied with in her
 “ excesses, and to be treated with tenderness and kindness,
 “ even in her most violent proceedings ? In a word, that she
 “ is either to be reclaimed by wise counsels and respectful re-
 “ monstrances, or to be obeyed in her commands, and suffered
 “ without murmuring in all she shall decree ? As for your
 “ children, Socrates, your friends will render them all the
 “ services in their power ; at least the Divine Providence will
 “ not be wanting to them. Resign yourself therefore to our
 “ reasons, and take the counsel of those who have given you
 “ birth, nurture, and education. Set not so high a value
 “ upon your children, your life, or any thing in the world as
 “ justice ; so shall it come to pass, that when you appear before
 “ the tribunal of Pluto, you will not be at a loss to defend
 “ yourself in the presence of your judges. But if you demean
 “ yourself otherwise, we shall continue your enemies as long
 “ as you live, without ever affording you relaxation or repose ;
 “ and when you are dead, our sisters, the laws in the regions
 “ below, will be as little favourable to you ; knowing that
 “ you have been guilty of using your utmost endeavours to
 “ destroy us.”

Socrates observed to Crito, that he seemed to have a perfect sense of all he had said, and that the force of his reasons had made so strong and irresistible an impression upon his mind, that they entirely engrossed him, and left him neither thoughts nor words to object. Crito agreeing in effect that he had nothing to reply, continued silent, and withdrew from his friend.

(g) At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in a manner the signal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison early in the morning. The jailer desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to the prisoner, that he was to die the same day. Presently after they entered, and found Socrates, whose * chains had been taken off, sitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As soon as she perceived them, setting up great cries,
 C 6 sobbing,

(g) Plut. in Phæd. p. 59, &c.

* At Athens, as soon as sentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was un-
 bound, and considered as the victim of death, whom it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.

sobbing, and tearing her face and hair, she made the prison resound with her complaints, *Oh my dear Socrates, your friends are come to see you this day for the last time!* He desired that she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual chearfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important and best adapted to the present conjuncture, that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse, was a question introduced in a manner by chance, whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die? This proposition, taken too literally, implied an opinion, that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates shews that nothing is more unjust than this notion, and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness, which he expects in another life, and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject, from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, intitled *The Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it.

(r) Before he answers any of these objections, he deploras a misfortune common enough amongst men, who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons, that contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, and believe there is nothing certain. "Is it not a great misfortune, dear Phædon, that having reasons which are true, certain, and very easy to be understood, there should however be those in the world, who are not at all affected with them, from their having heard those frivolous disputes, wherein all things appear sometimes true and sometimes false. These unjust and unreasonable men, instead of blaming themselves for these doubts, or charging the narrowness of their sense with them, from ascribing the defect to the reasons themselves, proceed at length to a detestation of them; and believe themselves more knowing and judicious than all others, because they imagine they are

" the

THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS. 37

“ the only persons, who comprehend, that there is nothing true or certain in the nature of things.”

Socrates demonstrates the injustice of this proceeding. He observes, that of two things equally uncertain, it consists with wisdom to chuse that which is most advantageous with least hazard. “ If what I advance,” says he, “ upon the immortality of the soul, proves true, it is good to believe it ; and “ if after my death it proves false, I shall always have the “ advantage from it, to have been less sensible here of the “ evils which generally attend human life.” This reasoning * of Socrates (which, *we are to suppose*, can be only real and true in the mouth of a Christian) is very remarkable. If what I say is true, I gain all things, whilst I hazard very little ; and if false, I lose nothing ; on the contrary, I am still a great gainer.

Socrates does not confine himself to the mere speculation of this great truth, that the soul is immortal ; he draws useful and necessary conclusions from it for the conduct of life ; in explaining what the hope of an happy eternity demands from man, that it be not frustrated, and that instead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good, they do not experience the punishments allotted for the wicked. The philosopher here sets forth these great truths, which a constant tradition, though very much obscured by fiction and fable, had always preserved amongst the Pagans. The last judgment of the righteous and wicked ; the eternal punishments to which great criminals are condemned ; a place of peace and joy without end for the souls that retain their purity and innocence, or which during this life have expiated their offences by repentance and satisfaction ; and an intermediate state, in which they purify themselves, for a certain time, from less considerable crimes, that have not been atoned for during this life.

“ (s) My friends, there is still one thing, which it is very “ just to believe ; if the soul be immortal, it requires to be “ cultivated with attention, not only for what we call the time “ of life, but for that which is to follow, I mean eternity ; “ and the least neglect in this point may be attended with “ endless consequences. If death were the final dissolution of “ being, the wicked would be great gainers in it, by being “ delivered at once from their bodies, their souls, and their “ vices : But as the soul is immortal, it has no other means of “ being freed from its evils, nor any safety for it but in be-
“ coming

(s) Plat. p. 107.

* *Monsieur Pascal has expatiated and deduced from it a demonstration of upon this reasoning in his seventh article, infinite forces.*

“ coming very good and very wise ; for it carries nothing a
 “ with it, but its good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices, w
 “ are commonly the consequence of the education it has
 “ ceived, and the causes of eternal happiness or misery.

“ (1) When the dead are arrived at the fatal rendezvou
 “ departed souls, whither their * *dæmon* conducts them, i
 “ are all judged. Those, who have passed their lives i
 “ manner neither entirely criminal nor absolutely innocent,
 “ sent into a place, where they suffer pains proportioned
 “ their faults, till being purged and cleansed of their gu
 “ and afterwards restored to liberty, they receive the rewar
 “ the good actions they have done in the body. Those
 “ are judged to be incurable upon account of the greatnes
 “ their crimes, who from deliberate will have committed sa
 “ leges and murders, and other such great offences, the f
 “ destiny, that passes judgment upon them, hurls them i
 “ Tartarus, from whence they never depart. But those
 “ are found guilty of crimes, great indeed, but worthy
 “ pardon ; who have committed violences in the transport
 “ rage against their father or mother, or have killed some
 “ in a like emotion, and afterwards repented, these suffer
 “ same punishment, and in the same place with the last ;
 “ for a time only, till by their prayers and supplications t
 “ have obtained pardon from those they have injured.

“ But for those, who have passed through life with pecu
 “ sanctity of manners, delivered from their base earthly abo
 “ as from a prison, they are received on high in a pure regi
 “ which they inhabit ; and as philosophy has sufficiently pu
 “ fied them, they live † without their bodies through all e
 “ nity in a series of joys and delights it is not easy to descri
 “ and which the shortness of my time will not permit me
 “ explain more at large.

“ What I have said will suffice, I conceive, to prove, t
 “ we ought to endeavour strenuously, throughout our wh
 “ lives, to acquire virtue and wisdom : For you see, how gr
 “ a reward, and how high an hope is proposed to us. A
 “ though the immortality of the soul were dubious, instead
 “ appearing a certainty as it does, every wise man ought
 “ assure himself, that it is well worth his trouble to risk
 “ belief of it in this manner. And indeed can there b
 “ more glorious hazard ? We ought to enchant ourselves w
 “

(1) Plat. p. 113, 114.

* *Dæmon* is a Greek word, which
 signifies spirit, genius, and with us,
 angel.

† The resurrection of the body
 unknown to the Pagans.

“ this blessed hope ; for which reason I have lengthened this
“ discourse so much.”

Cicero expresses these noble sentiments of Socrates with his usual delicacy. * Almost at the very moment that he held the deadly draught in his hand, he talked in such a manner, as shewed that he looked upon death not as a violence done to him, but as a means bestowed upon him of ascending to heaven. He declared, that upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us ; the one leads to the place of eternal misery, such souls as have sullied themselves here below in shameful pleasures and criminal actions ; the other conducts those to the happy mansions of the gods, who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almost divine.

(a) When Socrates had done speaking, Crito desired him to give him and the rest of his friends his last instructions in regard to his children, and other affairs, that by executing them, they might have the consolation of doing him some pleasure. “ I shall recommend nothing to you this day,” replied Socrates, “ more than I have always done, which is to take care of yourselves. You cannot do yourselves a greater service, nor do me and my family a greater pleasure.” Crito having asked him afterwards, in what manner he thought fit to be buried : “ As you please,” said Socrates, “ if you can lay hold of me, and I not escape out of your hands.” At the same time looking upon his friends with a smile : “ I can never persuade Crito, that Socrates is he who converses with you, and disposes the several parts of his discourse ; for he always imagines, that I am what he is going to see dead in a little while. He confounds me with my carcase, and therefore asks me how I would be interred.” In finishing these words he rose up, and went to bathe himself in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the women who

(a) Pag. 115—118.

* Cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem trudi, verùm in cælum videretur ascendere. Ita enim censebat, itaque differuit : duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum ex corpore excedentium. Nam, qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, & se totos libidinibus, dedissent quibus coarctati velut domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinassent, iis de-

vium quoddam iter esse, seclusum à concilio deorum : qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocas- sent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patère. Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* l. i. n. 71, 72.

who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid him down upon his bed.

The servant of the Eleven entered at the same instant, as having informed him, that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at sun-set) the servant was so much affected with sorrow, that he turned his back, and fell a weeping. "See," said Socrates, "the good heart of this man! Sin my imprisonment he has often come to see me, and to converse with me. He is more worthy than all his fellows. How heartily the poor man weeps for me." This is a remarkable example, and might teach those in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, when they are so unhappy to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do. "Nothing more," replied the servant, "than as soon as you have drunk off the draught to walk about till you find your legs grow weary and afterwards lie down upon your bed." He took the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance and regarding the man with a steady and assured look, "Well said he, "what say you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one dose: "At least," continued he, "we may say our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty; and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our last stage happy which is what I most ardently beg of them." After having spoke these words he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity, and a serenity of aspect not to be expressed or conceived.

Till then his friends with great violence to themselves had refrained from tears, but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation, began then to raise great cries, and to lament with such excessive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his usual mildness and good-nature. "What are you doing?" said he to them, "I admire at you. Ah! What is become of your virtue? Was it not for this I sent away the women, that they might not fall into the weaknesses? For I have always heard say, that we ought to die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at ease, I beg you and shew more constancy and resolution." These words filled them with confusion, and obliged them to restrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro, and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his back, as he had been directed.

The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments, *Crito*, said he, which were his last words, *we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge that vow for me, and pray don't forget it*; soon after which he breathed his last. *Crito* went to his body, and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates; in the first year of the 95th Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age. *Cicero* * says, he could never read the description of his death in *Plato* without tears.

Plato and the rest of Socrates's disciples, apprehending the rage of his accusers was not satiated by that victim, retired to *Mægara* to the house of *Euclid*; where they staid till the storm blew over. *Euripides*, however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed, in condemning the best of men to die upon slight grounds, composed his tragedy, called *Palamedes*, in which, under the name of that hero, who was also destroyed by a black calumnation, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verse,

You doom the justest of the Greeks to perish;

the whole theatre, remembering Socrates in so distinct an image of him, melted into tears, and a decree passed to prohibit speaking any more of him in publick. Some believe *Euripides* was dead before Socrates, and reject this circumstance.

However it were, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till some time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates. The academy, the *Lycæum*, private houses, publick walks, and market-places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. Here, said they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place, he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services? Athens was in universal mourning
and

* *Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrymari soleo Platonem legens?*
De nat. Deor. lib. iii. n. 82.

may be allowed to say so, than so gross and absurd a situation.

However it be, the sentence, of which we have related circumstances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, that all the splendor of its glorious actions which it is otherwise so justly renowned can never obliterate, shews at the same time, what is to be expected from a people gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for such the Athenians really were, but warm, proud, haughty, inconstant, wavering with every wind, and every impression. It is therefore with reason, that their assemblies have been compared to a tempestuous sea; as that element, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itself, is subject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its own.

As to Socrates, it must be allowed that the pagan world never produced any thing so great and perfect. When we ascend to what an height he carries the sublimity of his sentiments, not only in respect to moral virtue, temperance, sobriety, patience in adversity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveness of wrongs; but what is far more considerable, in regard to Divinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, providence in the government of it; the immortality of soul, its ultimate end and eternal destiny; the rewards of good, and the punishment of the wicked; when we consider this train of sublime knowledge, we ask our reason whether it is a pagan who thinks and speaks in this manner, and scarce persuade ourselves, that from so dark and obscure a system as paganism, should shine forth such living and such glorious rays of light.

It is true, his reputation was not without alloy, and it has been affirmed that the purity of his manners did not answer those of his sentiments. (d) This question has been discussed amongst the learned, but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its extent. The reader may see Abbé Fraguier's dissertation in defence of Socrates, against the reproaches made him on account of his conduct. The negative argument he makes out in his justification, seems a very strong one. He observes that neither Aristophanes in his comedy of *The Clouds*, which is entirely against Socrates, nor his vile accusers in his plays have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners: And it is not probable, that such violent enemies as those would have neglected one of the most legitimate methods to discredit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or appearance for the use of it.

I. co

I confess however, that certain principles of Plato his disciple, held by him in common with his master, upon the nudity of the combatants in the publick games, from which at the same time he did not exclude the fair sex, and the behaviour of Socrates himself, who wrestled naked man to man with Alcibiades, gives us no great idea of that philosopher's delicacy in point of modesty and bashfulness. (e) What shall we say of his visit to Theodota, a woman of Athens of indifferent reputation, only to assure himself with his own eyes of her extraordinary beauty, which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her, for the attraction of admirers, and the retaining them in her snares? Do such lessons consist much with a philosopher? I pass over many other things in silence.

I am the less surprized after this, that several of the fathers have censured him in regard to purity of manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his disciple Plato, what St. Paul (f) says of the philosophers; that God by a just judgment has abandoned them to a reprobate sense, and to the most shameful lusts for their punishment; in that having clearly known there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by publicly avowing their belief, and were not ashamed to associate him with an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

And in this, properly speaking, consists the crime of Socrates, who was not guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occasion for his being justly condemned by the eternal Truth. It had illuminated his soul with the most pure and sublime lights, of which the pagan world was capable; for we are not ignorant, that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come but from himself alone. He held admirable principles with relation to the divinity. He agreeably rallied the fables, upon which the ridiculous mysteries of his age were founded. He often spoke, and in the most exalted terms, of the existence of one only God, eternal, invisible, creator of the universe, supreme director and arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes, and rewarder of virtues: But he * did not dare to give

(e) Xenoph. Membr. l. iii. p. 783—786. (f) Rom. ch. i. ver. 17—32.

* Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) sapiens servabit tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam diis grata.—Omnem istam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo æ o longa superstitio congestit, sic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad mores, quam ad rem, pertinere.—Sed iste, quem

philosophia quasi liberum facerat, tamen, quia illustris senator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arquebat, quod culpabat adorabat—eo damnablem, quo illa, quæ mendaciter agebat, sic ageret, ut eum populus veraciter agere existima. et. S. August. de Civit. Dei, l. vi. c. 10.

 BOOK THE TENTH.

 THE ANCIENT
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 PERSIANS AND GRECIANS
 CONTINUED.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the GREEKS.

THE most essential part of history, and which it concerns the reader most to know, is that which explains the character and manners as well of the people in general, as of the great persons in particular of whom it treats; and this may be said to be in some sort the soul of history, of which the facts are only the body. I have endeavoured, as occasion offered, to paint in their true colours the most illustrious personages of Greece; it remains for me to shew the genius and character of the people themselves. I shall confine myself to those of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the first rank amongst the Greeks, and shall reduce what I have to say upon this subject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Signofius, Meursius, Potter, and several others, who have wrote upon the Grecian antiquities, supply me with great lights, and are of equal use to me in the matters it remains for me to treat.

C H A P. I.

Of political government.

THERE are three principal forms of government: *Monarchy*, in which a single person reigns; *Aristocracy*, in which the eldest and wisest govern; and *Democracy*, in which

which the supreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The most celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the first kind, as including the most advantages with the fewest inconveniencies. But all agree, and it cannot be too often inculcated, that the end of all government, and the duty of every one in authority, in whatsoever manner it be, is to use his utmost endeavours to render those under his command happy and just, by obtaining for them on the one side safety, and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniencies of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous. As the pilot's end, says Cicero*, is to steer his vessel happily into its port, the physician's to preserve or restore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory; so a prince, and every man who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his view and motive, and to remember, that the supreme rule of all just government is the good of the publick, (*a*) *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. He adds, that the greatest and most noble function in the world is to be the author of the happiness of mankind.

Plato in an hundred places esteems as nothing the most shining qualities and actions of those who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happiness of the people; and he refutes at large, in the first (*b*) book of his Republick, one Thrasymachus, who advanced, that subjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his subjects; and that whatever promoted the interests of the prince and commonwealth ought to be deemed just and lawful.

In the distinctions which have been made upon the several forms of government, it has been agreed, That would be the most perfect, which should unite in itself, by an happy mixture of institutions, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniencies, of the rest; and almost all the ancients have believed (*c*), that the Lacedæmonian government came nearest to this idea of perfection.

VOL. IV.

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ART I-

(*a*) Cic. de leg. l. iii. n. 8.
l. vi. p. 458, 459.

(*b*) Page 338—343.

(*c*) Polyb.

* Tenes-ne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quo referre velimus omnia?—Ut gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita *proposita est, ut opibus*

firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo. *Ad Attic.* l. viii. *Epist.* 10.

THE HISTORY OF

ARTICLE I.

Of the government of Sparta.

FROM the time that Heraclides had re-entered Peloponnus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the same two families, descended from Hercules by two different branches; as I have observed elsewhere. Whether from pride, or the abuse of despotick power on the side of the kings, or the desire of independence, and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its beginning was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occasioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Messene, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itself, if the wise foresight of Lycurgus had not prevented such consequences by the reformation he made in the state. I have related it at large (*d*) in the life of that legislator, and shall only touch here upon what regards the government.

SECT. I. *Abridged idea of the Spartan government, Entire submission to the laws in a manner the soul of it.*

LYCURGUS restored order and peace in Sparta by the establishment of the senate. It consisted of twenty-eight senators, and the two kings presided in it. This august council formed out of the wisest and most experienced men in the nation, served as a counterpoise to the two other authorities, that of the kings, and that of the people; and whenever one was for overbearing the other, the senate interposed, joining the weakest, and thereby held the ballance between both. At length, to prevent this body itself from abusing power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, by the nomination of five Ephori, who were elected out of the people, whose office lasted only one year, and who had authority, not only over the senators, but the kings themselves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, especially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and at that time greater authority. However, they had even then a kind of inspectors or commissioners assigned them, who served as a necessary counterpoise and were generally chosen for that office, from their being out of favour with them, in order that there should be no countenance on their side, and the republick be the better served.

Th

(*d*) Book v. Art. vii.

* Arist. de rep. li. ii. p. 331.

There was almost continually some secret misunderstanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a natural jealousy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their too great union might have given umbrage.

The Ephori had a greater authority at Sparta, than the Tribunes of the Roman people. They presided in the election of the magistrates, and could call them to an account for their administration. Their power extended even to the persons of their kings, and of the princes of the blood royal, whom they had a right to imprison, which they actually used in regard to Pausanias. When they sat upon their seats in the tribunal, they did not rise up when the kings entered, which was a mark of respect paid them by all the other magistrates, and seems to imply a kind of superiority in the Ephori from their representing the people; and it is observed of Agesilaus (e), that when he was seated upon his throne to dispense justice, and the Ephori came in, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. It is very probable, that before him it was not usual for the kings to behave in that manner, Plutarch relating this behaviour of Agesilaus as peculiar to him.

All publick business was proposed and examined in the senate, and resolutions passed accordingly in the same place. But the decrees of the senate were not of force, unless ratified by the people.

There must have been exceeding wisdom in the laws established by Lycurgus for the government of Sparta, because, as long as they were exactly observed, no commotions or seditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government was ever proposed, no private person usurped authority by violence, or made himself tyrant; the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the sovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to assume more power than the laws admitted. (f) This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polybius make, shews the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus, in point of his policy, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In effect no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, for want of the like laws to perpetuate their form of government.

The reason of this constancy and stability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed absolutely, and with sovereign authority;

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whereas

(e) Plut. in *Agesil.* p. 597.
L. vi. p. 456.

(f) Xenoph. in *Agesil.* p. 651. Polybius

whereas the greatest part of the other Grecian cities abandoned to the caprice of private men, to despotick power, to an arbitrary and irregular sway, experienced the truth of Plato's saying (g). That the city is miserable, where the magistrates command the laws, and not the laws the magistrates.

The example of Argos and Messene, which I have already related, would alone suffice to shew how just and true that reflection is. (b) After their return from the Trojan war, the Greeks, distinguished by the name of Dorians, established themselves in three cities of Peloponnesus, Lacedæmon, Argos, and Messene; and swore alliance and protection of each other. These three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had the same advantages; except in the fertility of the lands where they were situated, in which the two latter carried it extremely. Argos and Messene however did not long preserve their superiority. The haughtiness of the kings, and the disobedience of the people, occasioned their fall from the flourishing condition in which they had been at first; and their example proved, says Plutarch after Plato, that it was the peculiar favour of the gods, which gave the Spartans such a man as Lycurgus, capable of prescribing so wise and reasonable a plan of government.

To support it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country; in order that they might become a second nature in them, by being early ingrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude. The hard and sober manner, in which they were brought up, inspired them during the rest of their lives with a natural taste for frugality and temperance, that distinguished them from all other people, and wonderfully adapted them to support the fatigues of war. (i) Plato observes, that this salutary custom had banished from Sparta, and all the territory in its dependance, drunkenness, debauchery, and all their consequential disorders; insomuch that it was a crime punishable by law to drink wine to excess even in the Bacchanalia, which every where else were days of licence, whereon whole cities gave themselves up to the last excesses.

They also accustomed the children from their earliest infancy to an entire submission to the laws, magistrates, and all in authority; and their education, properly speaking, was no more than an apprenticeship of obedience. It was for this reason Agésilas advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta,

(g) Plat. l. iv. de leg. p. 715. (b) Plat. l. iii. de leg. p. 683—685. *Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43.* (i) Plat. l. i. de leg. p. 637.

* *ὅτι τὴν ἀνδρείαν οὕτως μάλιστα ἐννοήσιν.* *Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.*

parta, as to an excellent school, where they might learn the reatest and most noble of all sciences, *to obey and to command*, or the one naturally leads on to the other. It was not only the mean, the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were sub-
 jected in this manner to the laws; but the rich, the powerful, the magistrates, and even kings; and they did not distinguish themselves from the others in any thing but a more exact obedience; convinced that such behaviour was the surest means to their being obeyed and respected themselves by their inferiors.

(l) Hence came the so much celebrated answers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend, how the Lacedæmonians, who had no master to controul them, should be capable to confront dangers and death. "They are free and independent of all men," replied Demaratus, "but the law is above them and commands them; and that law ordains that they must conquer or die." (m) Upon another occasion, when somebody expressed their surprize, that being king he would suffer himself to be banished: *It is, says he, because at Sparta the laws are stronger than the kings.*

(n) This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Agesilaus to the orders of the Ephori, when recalled by them to the support of his country; a delicate occasion for a king and a conqueror; but to him it seemed more "glorious to obey his country and the laws, than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Asia.

SECT. II. *Love of poverty instituted at Sparta.*

FOR this entire submission to the laws of the state, Lycurgus added another principle of government no less admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profusion, and magnificence; to decrie riches absolutely, to make poverty honourable, and at the same time necessary, by substituting a species of iron money to gold and silver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elsewhere the measures that were used to make so difficult an undertaking succeed, and shall confine myself here to examining what judgment could be passed on it, as it affects a government.

The poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which seemed to prohibit all conquest, and to deprive it of all means

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(l) Herod. l. vii. c. 145, 146.

(m) Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.

(n) Idem, in Agefil. p. 603, 604.

† Μεθυσμένοι τὸν μεθύματι τὴν πόλιν, ἀρχοῦσι καὶ ἀρξάν. Plut. in Agefil. p. 606.

‡ Multo gloriosus duxit, si institutis patriæ paruisset, quàm si bello superaretur. Corn. Nep. in Agefil. c. iv.

to augment its force and grandeur, was well adapted to rendering it powerful and flourishing. Such a constitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has since been imitated by any other state, argues a great fund of prudence and policy in a legislator; and the medium conceived afterwards under Lyfander, in continuing individuals in their poverty, and restoring to the publick the use of gold and silver coin, was it not a wise amendment of what was too strained and excessive in that law of Lycurgus of which we are speaking?

It seems, if we consult only the common views of human prudence, that it is just to reason in this manner; but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. Whilst Sparta remained poor, and persisted in the contempt of gold and silver, which continued for several ages, she was powerful and glorious, and the commencement of her decline may be dated from the time when she began to break through the severe prohibition of Lycurgus against the use of gold and silver money.

The education which he instituted for the young Lacedæmonians, the hard and sober life which he recommended with so much care, the painful and violent exercises of the body prescribed by him, the abstraction from all other application and employment, in a word, all his laws and institutions shew, that his view was to form a people of soldiers, solely devoted to arms and military functions. I do not pretend to justify absolutely this scheme, which had its great inconveniencies, and I have expressed my thoughts of it elsewhere. But admitting it good, we must confess, that legislator shew'd great wisdom in the means he took for its execution.

The almost inevitable danger of a people solely trained up for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and what is most to be feared, is injustice, violence, ambition, the desire of increasing their power, of taking advantage of their neighbours weakness, of oppressing them by force, of invading their lands under false pretexts, which the lust of dominion never fails to suggest, and of extending their bounds as far as possible; all vices and extremes, which are horrid in private persons, and the ordinary commerce of life, but which men have thought fit to applaud as grandeur and glory in the persons of princes and conquerors.

The great care of Lycurgus was to defend his people against this dangerous temptation. Without mentioning the other means he made use of, he employed two which could not fail

of producing their effect. The * first was to prohibit all navigation and war at sea to his citizens. The situation of his city, and the fear lest commerce, the usual source of luxury and depravation, should corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, might have a share in this decree. But his principal motive was to put it out of his citizens power to project conquests, which a people, shut up within the narrow bounds of a peninsula, could not carry very far, without being masters at sea.

The second means, still more efficacious, was to forbid all use of gold or silver money, and to introduce a species of iron coin in its stead, which was of great weight and small value, and could only be current at home. How with such money should foreign troops be raised and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or sea?

So that the design of Lycurgus, in rendering his city warlike and putting arms into their hands, was not, as (o) Polybius observes, and Plutarch after him, to make them illustrious conquerors, who might carry war into remote regions, and subject great numbers of people. His sole end was, that shut up within the extent of the lands and dominions left them by their ancestors, they should have no thoughts, but of maintaining themselves in peace, and defending themselves successfully against such of their neighbours as should have the rashness to invade them; and for this they had occasion for neither gold nor silver, finding in their own country, and still more in their sober and temperate manner of life, all that was sufficient for the support of their armies, when they did not quit their own, or the lands of their neighbours.

Now, says Polybius, this plan once admitted, it must be allowed, that there is nothing more wise nor more happily conceived than the institutions of Lycurgus, for the maintaining a people in the possession of their liberty, and to secure to them the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. In effect, let us imagine a little republick, like that of Sparta, of which all the citizens are inured to labour, accustomed to live on a little, warlike, courageous, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this small republick, is to do no wrong to any one, nor to disturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or interests, but, on the contrary, to declare in favour of the oppressed against the injustice and violence of oppressors; is it not certain, that such a republick, surrounded by a great number of states of equal extent, would be generally respected by all the neighbouring people, would become the supreme arbiter of all their

D 4

quarrels,

(o) Polyb. l. vi. p. 491. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 59.

* *Antipater de divinis rebus iis, et ταραχῇ.* Plut. in Instit. Lacon. p. 239.

quarrels, and exercise an empire over them, by so much more glorious and lasting, as it would be voluntary, founded solely in the opinion those neighbours would have its virtue, justice, and valour?

(p) This was the end Lycurgus proposed to himself. C
vinced that the happiness of a city, like that of a private per
depends upon virtue, and upon being well within itself, he
gulated Sparta so as it might always suffice to its own hap
ness, and act upon principles of wisdom and equity. Fr
thence arose that universal esteem of the neighbouring pec
and even of strangers for the Lacedæmonians, who asked
them neither money, ships, nor troops; but only that t
would lend them a Spartan to command their armies;
when they had obtained their request, they paid him en
obedience, with every kind of honour and respect. In
manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus, the Chalcidians Br
das, and all the Greeks of Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas,
Agésilas; * regarding the city of Sparta as a model for
others, in the arts of living and governing.

The epocha of the declension of Sparta begins with the violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pretend that they always been exactly observed till that time, which was from the case; but the spirit and genius of those laws had most always prevailed with the majority of the persons who governed. No sooner had the ambition of reigning over Greece inspired them with the design of having naval arm and foreign troops, and that money was necessary for the support of those forces, Sparta, forgetting her ancient maxim, saw herself reduced to have recourse to the Barbarians, who till then she had detested, and basely to make her court to kings of Persia, whom she had formerly vanquished with much glory; and that only to draw from them some aid: money and troops against their own brethren, that is to say, against people born and settled in Greece like themselves. Thus had they the imprudence and misfortune to recall what gold and silver into Sparta, all the vices and crimes which iron money had banished; and to prepare the way for changes which ensued, and were the cause of their ruin. / This infinitely exalts the wisdom of Lycurgus, in having foreseen, at such a distance, what might strike at the happiness of his citizens, and provided salutary remedies against it in form of government he established at Sparta. Another legislator, who had preceded him several ages, has a right to this glory with him.

SE

(p) Plut. p. 58.

* Π.Δ. ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΡΙΚΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΟΙΧΩΝ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΕΩΝ ΕΝΕΧΗΜΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΘΩΣ ΕΠΙΛΗΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΒΛΕΠΟΥΣΤΙΣ.

SECT. III. *Laws established by MINOS in Crete the model of those of Sparta.*

ALL the world knows, that Lycurgus had formed the plan of most of his laws upon the model of those observed in the island of Crete, where he passed a considerable time for the better studying of them. It is proper I should give some idea of them here, having forgot to do it in the place where it would have been more natural, that is, when I spoke for the first time of Lycurgus and his institutions.

Minos, whom fable calls the son of Jupiter, was the author of these laws. He * lived about an hundred years before the Trojan war. He was a powerful, wise, and gentle prince, and still more estimable for his moral virtues than his military abilities. After having conquered the island of Crete, and several others in its neighbourhood, he applied himself to strengthen by wise laws the new state, of which he had possessed himself by the force of arms. (r) The end which he proposed for the establishment of these laws, was to render his subjects happy by making them virtuous. He banished idleness and voluptuousness from his states, and with them luxury and vicious pleasures, the fruitful sources of all vice. Well knowing, that liberty was justly regarded as the most precious and rarest good, and that it cannot subsist without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to establish a kind of equality amongst them; which is the tie and basis of it, and very proper to remove all envy, jealousy, hatred, and dissension. He did not undertake to make any new divisions of lands, nor to prohibit the use of gold and silver. He applied himself to the educating of his subjects by other ties, which seemed to him either less firm nor less reasonable.

He decreed, that the children should be all brought up and educated together by troops and bands; in order that they might learn early the same principles and maxims. Their life was hard and sober. They were accustomed to be satisfied with little, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, to suffer courageously the blows they received, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance, in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhick; in order, says Strabo, that even to their diversions, every thing might breathe, and form them for, war. They were also made to learn certain airs of musick, but of a manly, martial kind.

D 5

They

* A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284.

(r) Strab. l. x. p. 480.

(s) They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour; but in return, they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their most usual exercise. Crete is not a flat even country, nor fit for breeding of horses, as is that of the Thessalians, who passed for the best cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of shelves and high lands, where heavy-armed troops could not exercise themselves in the horse-race. But as to archery and light-armed soldiers, fit to execute the devices and stratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremost rank.

Minos thought proper to establish in Crete a community of tables and meals. Besides several other great advantages which he found in this institution, as the introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, the rich and poor having the same diet, the accustoming his subjects to a frugal and sober life, the cementing friendship and unity between them by the usual gaiety and familiarity of the table, he had also in view the custom of war, in which the soldiers are obliged to eat together. (t) It was the publick that supplied the expences of these tables. Out of the revenues of the state, a part was applied to the uses of religion, and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the publick meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages, were fed at the cost, and in the name of the republick. In this Aristotle gives the preference to the meals of Crete before those of Sparta, wherein private persons were obliged to furnish their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the assemblies; which was to exclude the poor.

(u) After eating, the old men discoursed upon the affairs of the state. The conversation turned generally upon the history of the country, upon the actions and virtues of the great men of it, who had distinguished themselves either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in peace; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose those great persons to themselves as their models, for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

(x) Minos, as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legislator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal attention, because he was convinced that the repose, liberty, and riches of his subjects were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the conquered being deprived of all those advantages by the victor.

(s) Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 623.

(u) Athen. l. iv. p. 643.

(t) Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 10.

(x) Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 626.

victor. But he ordained, that war should be only made for the sake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that sole object.

Amongst the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth some tincture of learning. The works of (y) Homer, of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown amongst them, though they set small value upon, and made little use of, foreign poets. (z) They were very curious in such knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and what is no small praise, they piqued themselves upon thinking much and speaking little. (a) The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was in great estimation there, was of Crete, and by some placed in the number of the seven sages.

One of Minos's institutions, which Plato (b) admires the most, was to inspire early into the youth an high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of the state, and not to suffer them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their institutions; but to consider them not as prescribed and imposed by men, but as emanations of the Divinity himself. Accordingly he had industriously apprized the people, that Jupiter himself had dictated them to him. He had the same attention in regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he recommended to honour in a peculiar manner; and in order that nothing might prevent the respect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth: A wise precaution, and which would be very becoming in the ordinary practice of life!

The government of Crete was at first monarchical, of which Minos has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a great and most excellent man * observes, the king can do every thing over the people, but the laws every thing over him. He has an absolute power to do good, and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intrust the people in his hands as the most sacred of deposits, upon condition that he shall be their common father. The same laws require, that a single man by his wisdom and moderation shall constitute the felicity of an infinite number of subjects; and not that the subjects, by their misery, and abject slavery, shall be substituted to gratify the pride and low passions of a single man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad the defender of his country at the head

D. 6.

(y) Plat. de leg. l. ii. p. 680.
in Solon. p. 84.

(z) Idem, l. i. p. 642.

(a) Plut.

(b) De leg. l. i. p. 634.

* Monsieur de Praetor, archbishop of Cambray.

head of armies, and at home the judge of his people, to render them good, wise and happy. It is not for himself that the gods have made him king, and he is only so for the service of his people. He owes them his whole time, care, and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as he forgets, and devotes himself to the publick good. (c) Such is the idea Minos had of the sovereignty, of which he was a living image in his own person, and which Hesiod has perfectly expressed in two words, by calling that prince, *the most royal of mortal kings*, βασιλευτάτων θνητῶν βασιλέων; that is to say, that he possessed in a supreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

(d) It appears, that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government as Minos had intended. The senate, composed of thirty senators, formed the publick council. In that assembly the publick affairs were examined, and resolutions taken; but they were of no force, till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their suffrages. The magistrates, to the number of ten, established for maintaining good order in the state, and therefore called * *Cosmi*, held the two other bodies of the state in respect, and were the balance between them. In time of war the same persons commanded the army. They were chosen by lot, but only out of certain families. Their office was for life, and they were not accountable to any for their administration. Out of this company the senators were elected.

The Cretans made the slaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual sum. They were called *Periæci*, apparently from their being people in the neighbourhood, whom Minos had subjected. As they inhabited an island, and consequently a country separate from all others, the Cretans had not so much to fear from these vassals, as the Lacedæmonians from the Helots, who often joined the neighbouring people against them. (e) A custom anciently established in Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reason to believe, that the vassals, who manured the lands, were treated with great goodness and favour. In the feasts of Mercury, the masters waited on their slaves at table, and did them the same offices as they received from them the rest of the year; precious remains and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, that seemed to inform the masters, that their servants were of the same condition with

(c) Plat. in Min. p. 320. (d) Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 10. (e) Athen. J. xiv. p. 639. * *κοσμοὶ ὄντο*.

THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS. 61

with themselves, and that to treat them with cruelty or pride, was to renounce humanity.

(f) As a prince cannot do every thing alone, and is obliged to associate co-operators with himself, for whose conduct he is accountable, Minos charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a share in the administration of justice in the capital city; which is the most essential and indispensable function of sovereignty. He knew his probity, disinterestedness, ability and constancy, and had taken pains to form him for so important an office. Another minister had the care of the rest of the cities, who made a circuit three times a year, to examine whether the laws established by the prince were duly observed, and the inferior magistrates and officers religiously acquitted themselves of their duty.

Crete, under so wise a government, changed its aspect entirely, and seemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and justice; as we may judge, from what fable tells us of the honour Jupiter did these three brothers, in making them the judges of the other world; for every body knows, that fable is founded upon real history, though disguised under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

(g) It was, according to fabulous tradition, a law established from all times, that men in departing out of this life should be judged, in order to their receiving the reward or punishment due to their good or evil actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the first years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the instant preceding death, which left room for very flagrant injustices. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and splendor of their power, and producing witnesses to depose in their favour; because, as they were still alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain shew, and deceived by such false evidence, declared these princes innocent, and dismissed them with permission to enter into the happy abodes of the just. The same may be said in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpless, calumny and malice pursued them even to this last tribunal, and found means to have them doomed for ever as criminals.

Fable adds, that, upon reiterated complaints and warm remonstrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of these trials. The time for them was fixed to be the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both
sons

(f) Plat. in Min. p. 320,
Axioch. p. 371.

(g) Plat. in Gorg. p. 523—526. 2a

Paul cites against them as truth the testimony of one of their ancient poets, (it is believed of Epimenides) who paints them in colours much to their dishonour; but this change of manners, in whatever time it might arrive, does not at all affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king:

(l) The most certain proof of that legislator's wisdom, as Plato observes, is the solid and lasting happiness, which was the effect of the sole imitation of his laws by Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete, and it subsisted in an uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the vicissitudes and revolutions so common in all the other states of Greece.

A R T I C L E II.

Of the government of Athens.

THE government of Athens was neither so permanent nor so uniform as that of Sparta, but suffered various alterations, according to the diversity of times and conjunctures. Athens, after having long been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, assumed entire liberty, which gave place however for some years to the tyrannick power of the Pisistratides, but was soon after re-established, and subsisted with splendor till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of the city by the Lacedæmonians. These subjected them to the Thirty Tyrants, whose authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty, which continued amidst various events during a long series of years, till the Roman power had subdued Greece and reduced it into a province.

I shall consider in this place only the popular government, and shall examine in particular five or six heads: The foundation of government according to Solon's establishment, the different parts of which the republick consisted, the council or senate of the five hundred, the assemblies of the people, the different tribunals for the administration of justice, the revenues or finances of the republick. I shall be obliged to be more extensive upon what regards the government of Athens, than I have been upon that of Sparta, because the latter is almost sufficiently known, from what has been said of it in the life of Lycurgus (m).

SECT.

(l) Plat. p. 320.

(m) Book v. Art. vii.

SECT. I. *Foundation of the government of Athens according to SOLON's plan.*

(*) SOLON was not the first who established the popular government at Athens. Theseus long before him had traced out the plan, and began the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies; that of the nobility, to whom the superintendence in religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers or husbandmen; and the artisans. He had proposed the establishment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were considerable by their honours and dignities, the husbandmen had the advantage of their utility to the publick, and the necessity there was for their labours; and the artisans had the superiority to both the other bodies in their number. Athens, to speak properly, did not become a popular state till the establishment of the nine Archons, whose authority continued only for one year, whereas before it was for ten; and it was not till many years after, that Solon, by the wisdom of his laws, instituted and confirmed this form of government.

(*) Solon's great principle was to establish as much as possible a kind of equality amongst his citizens, which he regarded with reason as the foundation and essential point of liberty. He resolved therefore to leave the publick employments in the hands of the rich, as they had been till then, but to give the poor also some share in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reason he made an estimation of what each individual was worth. Those who were found to have an annual revenue of five hundred measures, as well in grain as liquid things, were placed in the first class, and called the *Pentacosiomedimni*, that is those who had a revenue of five hundred measures. The second class was composed of such as had three hundred, and could maintain a horse for war; these were called *horsemen* or *knights*. Those who had only two hundred, were in the third class, and were called * *Zugitæ*. Out of these three only classes the magistrates and commanders were chosen. All the other citizens, who were below these three classes, and had less revenues, were comprized under the name of *Theti*, hirelings or workmen labouring with their hands.

Solon

(*) Plut. in Thef. p. 10, 11.

(*) Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

* It is believed they were so called from their being ranked between the knights and the *Theti*; as in the galleys those who rowed in the middle were termed *Zugitæ*; their place was between the *Thalamitæ* and *Ibranitæ*.

Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their suffrages in the assemblies and trials of the people, which at first seemed a very slight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, will appear in the sequel. I do not know whether Solon so saw it, but he used to say, (p) that the people were never more obedient and submissive, than when they possessed neither too much nor too little liberty: Which comes very near Galb's expression, (q) when to incline Piso to treat the Roman people with goodness and lenity, he desires him to remember, * that he was going to command men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty, or absolute subjection.

(r) The people of Athens, being become more haughty after their victories over the Persians, pretended to have a right to share in all the publick offices and the magistracy; Aristides, to prevent the disorders which too tenacious opposition might have occasioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. (s) It appears however from a passage in Xenophon, that the people contented themselves with offices from whence some profit arose, and left those, which related more particularly to the government of the state, in the hands of the rich.

(t) The citizens of the three first classes paid every year a certain sum of money, to be laid up in the publick treasury: the first a talent, the knights half a talent, and the Zug ten minæ.

As the proportion of revenue determined the order of classes, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to rise to a superior class.

If (u) Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils which were a kind of double limitation to fix and temper assemblies of the people. The first was the Areopagus: it was much more ancient than his institutions, and he only reformed it, and gave it new lustre by augmenting its power. The second was the council of the Four hundred, that is, hundred of each tribe; for Cecrops, the first king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Cleisthenes after him changed that order, and established ten. It was this council of the Four hundred, all affairs were considered

(p) Plut. in Solon. p. 110. (q) Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 16. (r) Plut. Aristid. p. 332. (s) Xenoph. de rep. Athen. p. 691. (t) Pollux. l. c. 10. (u) In Solon. p. 88.

* Imperatorum ex hominibus, qui
non tantum servitutem pati possunt, nec
sotum libertatem. } One thousand French crowns,
Five hundred livres.

before they were proposed to the assembly of the people, as we shall soon explain.

I do not mention here another division of the people into three parties or factions, which till the time of Pisistratus were a continual source of troubles and seditions. One of these three parties was formed out of those who inhabited the high lands, and favoured popular government; the other out of those who lived in the plains, and they were for oligarchy; and the third out of the people upon the coast, and these held the mean between both.

It is necessary, for the better understanding what we have now said, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

SECT. II. *Of the inhabitants of Athens.*

(x) **T**HERE were three sorts of inhabitants of Athens: Citizens, strangers, and servants. In the account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the cxvith Olympiad, their number amounted to twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and * forty thousand servants. The number of citizens was almost the same in the time of Cecrops, and less under Pericles.

1. *Of the citizens.*

A citizen could only be such by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was necessary to be born of a father and mother both free, and Athenians. (y) We have seen that Pericles restored this law to all its force, which had not been exactly observed, and which he himself some small time after infringed. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon strangers; and those, whom they had so adopted, enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was sometimes granted in honour and gratitude to those, who had rendered great services to the state; as to Hippocrates; and even kings have sometimes canvassed that title for themselves and their children. Evagoras, king of Cyprus, thought it much to his honour.

When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were enrolled upon the list of citizens, after having taken an oath; and

(x) A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. Athen. l. vi. p. 272. (y) Book v. Art. viii.

* The text says, *μυριαδες τετρασπονδιστος*, four hundred thousand, which is a manifest error.

and it was only in virtue of that publick and solemn act, that they became members of the state. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and (x) Pollux have preserved in the following words: "I will never dishonour the profession of arms, nor save my life by a shameful flight; I will fight to my last breath for the religion and civil interests of the state in concert with the other citizens, and alone if occasion be. I will not bring my country into a worse condition than I found it, but will use my utmost endeavours to make it more happy and flourishing. I will always submit myself to the laws and magistrates, and to all that shall be ordained by the common consent of the people. If any one shall violate, or make void the laws, I will not disguise or conceal such an attempt, but will oppose it either alone or in conjunction with my fellow-citizens, and I will constantly adhere to the religion of my forefathers. To all which I call to witness Agraulis, Enyalus, Mars, and Jupiter." I leave the reader to his own reflections upon this august ceremony, well adapted to inspire the love of their country into the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at first had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was subdivided into several parts, which were called *Δήμοι*, *Pagi*. It was by these two titles the citizens were described in the publick acts. *Melitus, à tribu Cecropide, è pago Pittbenfi.*

2. Of the strangers.

I call those by that name, who being of a foreign country, came to settle at Athens, or in Attica, whether for the sake of commerce, or the exercising any trade. They were termed *μέτοικοι*, *inquilini*. They had no share in the government, nor votes in the assembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themselves under the protection of some citizen, as we find from a passage of * Terence, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and services, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were held to observe all the laws of the republick, and to conform entirely to all its customs. They paid a yearly tribute to the state of twelve drachmas, and in default of payment were made slaves, and exposed to sale. (a) Xenocrates, the celebrated, but poor, philosopher, was very near experiencing this misfor-

(x) Pollux, l. viii. c. 9.

(a) Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.

* *Tunc patri se commendavit in* *Runach. Act 5. scen. ult.*
clivatelam & fidem: Nobis dedit scite. *§ Six liura.*

fortune, and was carried to prison; but Lycurgus, the lawgiver, having paid the tax, released him from the farmers of the public revenues; a kind of men who in all times have been very little sensible to merit, with the exception of an exceedingly few of their number. That philosopher, meeting some time after the sons of his deliverer, told them, *I pay you now for the favour he has done me with usury, for all the world rises him upon my account.*

3. *Of the servants.*

There were two kinds of them. The one, who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad state of their affairs to go into service, and their condition was easy, and not laborious. The service of the other was forced and unavoidable; these were slaves, who had either been taken prisoners in war, or bought of such as trafficked illegally in them. Part of their masters' estate consisted in slaves, who disposed absolutely of them, but generally treated them with great humanity. (b) Demosthenes observes, in one of his harangues, that the condition of servants was infinitely more gentle at Athens than any where else. There was in that city an asylum and place of refuge for slaves, where the bones of Theseus had been interred, and that asylum subsisted in Pericles's time. How glorious was it for Theseus, that his name should do that twelve hundred years after his death, which he had done himself during his life, and continue the protector of the oppressed as he had been!

(c) When the slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they had their action against their masters, who were obliged to sell them to others, if the fact were sufficiently proved. (d) They could ransom themselves even against their masters' consent, when they laid up money enough for that purpose. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their masters, they kept the remainder for themselves, and made a stock of it at their own disposal. Private persons, when they were satisfied with their vices, often gave these slaves their liberty; and the same licence was always granted them by the publick, when the necessity of the times obliged the state to arm and lift them for war amongst the citizens.

The humane and equitable usage, with which the Athenians treated their servants and slaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people, and very remote from the austere and

and cruel severity of the Lacedæmonians in regard to their Helots, which often brought their republick to the very brink of destruction. (c) Plutarch, with great reason, condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's self always to mercy, even with regard to beasts, were it only, says he, to learn by that means to treat men well, and for the sake of habituating humanity and benevolence. He relates upon this occasion a very singular fact, and very proper to explain the character of the Athenians. After having finished the temple called *Hecatonpedon*, they set all the beasts of burden at liberty, that had been employed in the work, and assigned them fat pasturages as consecrated animals. And it was said, that one of these beasts having come to offer itself at the work, and put itself at the head of those that drew the carriages to the citadel, walking foremost as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree, that the creature should be maintained at the publick expence till its death.

SECT. VI. *Of the council or senate of Five Hundred.*

IN consequence of Solon's institutions, the people of Athens had a great share and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunal in all causes; they had a right to cancel the old laws, and establish new ones; in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their assemblies. In order to their determinations being made with more wisdom and maturity, Solon had instituted a council, composed of four hundred senators, an hundred out of each tribe, which were then four in number; they prepared and digested the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we shall soon explain more at large. Clisthenes, about an hundred years after Solon, having increased the number of tribes to ten, augmented also that of the senators to five hundred; each tribe supplying fifty. This was called the council, or senate, of the Five Hundred. They received their stipend out of the publick treasury.

They were chosen by lot, in which they made use of black and white beans, which were mingled and shaken in an urn, and each tribe gave in the names of those who aspired to that trust, and had the revenue assigned by the laws to qualify them for it. None could be admitted under the age of thirty. After an enquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, whereby he engaged to give at

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(c) Plut. in Catone, p. 338, 339.

all times the best counsel he could to the people of Athens, and never to depart in the least from the tenor of the laws.

This senate assembled every day, except upon the days appointed for festivals. Each tribe in its turn furnished those who were to preside in it, called * *Prytanes*, and this rank was decided by lot. This presidency continued thirty-five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. This time of the presidency, or prytanism, was divided into five weeks with regard to the five tens of the *Prytanes*, who were to preside in them, and every week seven of these ten Prytanes drawn by lot presided, each their day, and were denominated Πρὸςδρῶται, that is to say, *Presidents*. He, † who was so for the day, presided in the assembly of the senators and in that of the people. He was charged with the publick seal, as also with the keys of the citadel and treasury.

The senators, before they assembled, offered a sacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva, under the additional appellation of *gods of good counsel* ‖, to demand the prudence and understanding necessary in wise deliberations. The president proposed the business, which was to be considered in the assembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always standing. After a question had been settled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. Each senator then gave his vote by scrutiny, in putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans carried it, the question passed, otherwise it was rejected. This sort of decree was called Ψήφισμα, or Προβουλευμα, as much as to say preparatory resolution. It was afterwards laid before the assembly of the people, where, if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law; if not, its authority subsisted only one year. This shews with what wisdom Solon established this council, to inform and direct the people, to fix their inconstancy, to prevent their temerity, and to assist their deliberations with a prudence and maturity not to be expected in a confused and tumultuous assembly, composed of a great number of citizens, most of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the publick good. The reciprocal dependency, and natural intercourse of the two bodies of the state, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force when without union and a good understanding, were besides a method judiciously contrived for supporting a wise ballance between the two bodies; the people not being able to institute any thing without its being first proposed and approved by the senate; nor the senate

* Πρυτανία.

† He was called Έπιστατης.

‖ Εὖνοια, Εὖνοια.

to pass any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the same, without any exception, as were laid before the people; wars, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances, in a word, whatever related to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magistrates to give on quitting their offices, and their frequent decisions and judgments upon the most serious and important affairs.

SECT. IV. *Of the Areopagus.*

THIS council took its name from the place where it assembled, called * *The quarter, or Hill of Mars*, because, according to some, Mars had been cited thither in judgment for a murder committed by him. It was believed to be as ancient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attribute the institution of it to Solon; but he only re-established it, by giving it more lustre and authority than it had had till then, and for that reason was looked upon as its founder. The number of the senators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper, that only those who had borne the office of archon should be honoured with that dignity.

This senate had the care of seeing the laws duly observed, of inspecting the manners of the people, and especially of judging in criminal cases. They held their sittings in an open place, and during the night. The former very probably to avoid being under the same roof with the criminals, and not to defile themselves by such a commerce with them; the latter, that they might not be softened by the sight of the guilty, and might judge according to justice and the laws. It was for the same reason, the orators were not permitted to use their exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the passions, and were obliged to confine themselves solely to the subject matter of their cause. The severity of their judgments was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murder, and they were highly attentive to inspire their citizens with horror for that crime. They † condemned a child to be put to death for making it his pastime to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving the

* *Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρουρου.*

† Nec mihi videntur Areopagitæ, ædum damnaverunt puerum oculos co-
turnicum eruentem, aliud judicasse,

quàm id signum esse perniciosissimæ
mentis, multisque malo futuræ
adolevisset. *Quintil. l. v. c. 9.*

he sanguinary inclination, as the mark of a very wicked disposition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if he were suffered to grow up with impunity.

The affairs of religion, as blasphemies against the gods, contempt of sacred mysteries, different species of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were also brought before this tribunal. (u) We read in Justin Martyr, that Plato, who in his travels in Egypt had acquired great lights concerning the unity of God, when he returned to Athens, took great care to dissemble and conceal his sentiments, for fear of being obliged to appear and give an account of them before the Areopagite; and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine (x), and endeavouring to introduce new gods.

These judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity, and prudence, and generally respected. Cicero, in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, constancy, and wise severity of the Roman senate, thinks he makes a great encomium upon it, in comparing it with the Areopagus. (y) *Senatus, Aequi & iustus, nil constantius, nil severius, nil fortius.* Cicero must have conceived a very advantageous idea of it, to speak of it as he does in the first book of his Offices. He compares the famous battle of Salamin, in which Themistocles had so great a part, with the establishment of the Areopagus, that he ascribes to Solon; and makes no scruple to prefer, or at least to equal, the legislator's service to that for which Athens was obliged to the general of its army. "For in reality," says he, "that victory was useful to the republic only for once, but the Areopagus will be so throughout all ages; as by the wisdom of that tribunal, the laws and ancient customs of the Athenian state are preserved. Themistocles did no service to the Areopagus, but the Areopagus abundantly contributed to the victory of Themistocles; because the republic was at that time directed by the wise counsels of that august senate."

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(u) Cohort. ad Græc.

(x) Acts xvii. 18—20.

(y) Ad Attic. l. i.

Ep. 13.

Quamvis Themistocles jure laudetur, et sit ejus nomen, quam Solonis, illustrius, citeturque Salamis clarissimæ testis victoriæ, quæ anteponatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primum constituit Areopagitas: non minus præclarum hoc, quam illud, judicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati: hoc

consilio leges Atheniensium, hoc majorum instituta servantur. Et Themistocles quidem nihil dixit, in quo ipse Areopagum juverit: at ille adjuvit Themistoclem. Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus, qui a Solone erat constitutus. Offic. l. i. n. 75.

It appears from this passage of Cicero's, that the Areopagus had a great share in the government, and I do not doubt was consulted upon important affairs. Cicero here perhaps may have confounded the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain however that the Areopagites were extremely active in the publick affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, his chance having always been against him, he had not through any of the employments necessary to his administration attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his purpose. Which is a great blot in his reputation.

SECT. V. *Of the Magistrates.*

OF these a great number were established for different functions. I shall speak only of the Archons, which are the most known. I have observed elsewhere that they succeeded the kings, and that their authority at first continued of long life. It was at length limited to ten years, and reduced to only to one. When Solon was commissioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and to the number of nine. He did not abolish their office, but he very much diminished their power.

The first of these nine magistrates was called THE ARCHON, by way of eminence, and the year denominated from him. * *Under such an Archon such a battle was fought.* The second was called THE KING, which was the remains and too of the authority to which they had succeeded. The third THE POLEMARCH, who at first commanded the armies, always retained that name, though he had not the same authority, of which he had to long preserved some part. We have seen, in speaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The six other archons were called by the common name, THE STRATEGI, which implies that they had a particular superintendance over the laws, in order to their being duly observed. These nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were joined in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance. I do not think it necessary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor those of many other employments and offices, established for the administration of justice, for the levying of taxes and duties, for the preservation of good order in the city, for

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* From whence he is also called *hetaeropolus*.

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ing it with provisions, in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil society.

SECT. VI. *Of the assemblies of the people.*

THESE were of two sorts, the one ordinary and fixed to certain days, and for these there was no kind of summons; the other extraordinary, according to the different occasions that arose, and the people were informed of it by express proclamation.

The place for the assembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was publick market-place, sometimes a part of the city near citadel, called *Ilrux*, and sometimes the theatre of Bac-

chus. The Prytanes generally assembled the people. Some days were the assembly papers were fixed up, wherein the business to be considered was set down.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give or suffrages. They were liable to a penalty, who failed of being present at the assembly, or who came too late; and to secure their punctual attendance, a reward was annexed to it, first of an obolus, which was the sixth part of a drachma, and then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The assembly always began with sacrifices and prayers, in order for the obtaining from the gods the knowledge and understanding necessary to wise deliberations, and they never failed to add the most terrible imprecations against such as would wilfully advise any thing contrary to the publick good.

The president proposed the affair upon which they were to deliberate. If it had been examined in the senate, and drawn there as a question, it was read; after which those who should speak were invited to ascend the tribunal, that they might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter proposed. The oldest general spoke first, and then the rest according to their seniority: When the orators had finished speaking, and concluded that it was necessary to approve or reject the decree of the senate, the people proceeded to vote, the most common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation; which was called *choreia*. The assembly was sometimes adjourned till another day, because it was too late for the number of those that held up their hands to be distinguished, and the plurality decided. After a resolution had been formed in this manner, it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people in a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their

hands as before ; after which the decree had the force of a law. And this was called *λίθη*, from the Greek word *λίθος*, which signifies a *pebble* or *small stone*, because they were sometimes used in giving suffrages by scrutiny.

All the great affairs of the republick were discussed in these assemblies. It was in them new laws were proposed and old ones amended ; the religion and worship of the gods examined ; magistrates, generals, and officers created ; their behaviour and conduct enquired into ; peace or war concluded ; deputies and ambassadors appointed ; treaties and alliances ratified ; freedom of the city granted ; rewards and honours decreed for those who had distinguished themselves in war, or rendered great services to the republick ; and punishments ordained for those who had behaved themselves ill, or had violated the laws of the state, and were banished by ostracism. In fine, justice was administered, and judgment passed there, upon the most important affairs. We see from this account, which is however very imperfect, how far the people's power extended ; and with what truth it may be said, that the government of Athens, though qualified with aristocracy, and the authority of the elders, was by its constitution democratical and popular.

I shall take occasion to observe in the sequel, of what weight the talent of eloquence is in such a republick ; and in what manner orators ought to be considered in it. It is not easy to conceive, how they could make themselves heard in so numerous an assembly, and where such a multitude of auditors were present. We may judge how great that was, from what has been said of it in two instances. The first relates to ostracism, and the other to the adoption of a stranger for a citizen. On each of these occasions, it was necessary that no less than six thousand citizens should be present in the assembly.

I reserve for another place the reflections, which naturally arise from what I have already related, and what it remains for me to say further upon the government of Athens.

SECT. VII. *Of Trials.*

THERE were different tribunals, according to the difference of the affairs to be adjudged, but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of other judges, and this it was that rendered their power so great and considerable. (1.) All the allies, when they had any cause to try, were obliged to repair to Athens ; where they often remained a considerable time, without being able to obtain audience, from the multiplicity

plcity of affairs to be adjudged. This law had been imposed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more submissive to their authority; instead of which, had they sent commissioners to the places, they would have been the sole persons, to whom the allies would have made their court and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their causes either in person, or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed, and a water clock, called in Greek *κλεψύδρα*, regulated its duration. The decree was passed by plurality of voices; and when the suffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the side of mercy, and acquitted the accused. It is remarkable that a friend was not obliged to give evidence against a friend.

All the citizens, even the poorest, and such as had no estates, were admitted into the number of judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be persons of good morals. Whilst they sat in judgment, they held in their hands a kind of scepter, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges salary was different at different times. They had at first only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, where their fee remained fixed. It was but a small matter in itself, but became in time a very great charge to the publick, and exhausted the treasury without much enriching particulars. We may judge of this from what is related in Aristophane's comedy *The Wasps*, wherein that poet ridicules the passion of the Athenians for trying causes, and their eager desire for the gain arising from it, which protracted and multiplied suits to infinity.

In this comedy a young Athenian, who was to act the part I have mentioned, of turning the judges and trials of Athens into ridicule, from a state of the revenues paid into the publick treasury, finds their amount to be two thousand talents*. He then examines how much of that sum falls to the share of the judges, with whom Athens was over-run, at three oboli a head per day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only an hundred and fifty talents†. The calculation is easy. The judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in festivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now three oboli a day paid to six thousand men, makes fifteen talents a month, and in consequence one hundred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation, the most assiduous judge gained only seventy-five livres (about

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* About 280,000 l. sterling.

† About 7000 l. sterling.

three guineas) a year. "What then becomes of the remainder of the two thousand talents?" cries the young Athenian. "What," replies his father, who was one of the judges, "goes to those—but let us not expose the shame of Athens—let us always be for the people." The young Athenian goes on to explain that the remainder went to such as robbers, publick treasury; to the orators, who incessantly flattered the people; and to those who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark from the works of Father Brumoi the Jesuit, with which I shall make use when I come to speak of publick shews and dramatick representations.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Amphictyons.*

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though not particular to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, because it is often mentioned in the Grecian history, and I do not know whether I shall have a natural occasion to speak of it.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the origin of a general assembly of the states of Greece. The establishment of it is attributed to Amphictyon, king of Thessaly, and son of Deucalion, who gave them his name. His principal view in the institution of this council, was to unite the sacred band of amity the several people of Greece and to oblige them by that union to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for the safety and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were also created to be the protectors of the oracle of Delphi, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple, and also to adjudge the differences which might arise between the Delphians, and those who came to consult the oracle. The council was held at Thermopylæ, and sometimes at Delphi itself. It assembled regularly twice a year, in the spring and autumn, and more frequently when affairs required.

The number of people or cities which had a right to sit in this assembly is not precisely known, and varied, without doubt, at different times. When the Lacedæmonians, in order to prevent what decrees they thought fit, were for excluding the Thessalians, Argives, and Thebans; (a) Themistocles, in a speech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that design taking effect, seems to insinuate, that there were only thirty cities at that time which had this right.

(a) Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

Each city sent two deputies, and in consequence had two votes in the council; and that without distinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over inferior states in regard to the suffrages; the liberty upon which these people valued themselves, requiring that every thing should be equal amongst them.

The Amphictyons had full power to discuss and determine finally in all differences which might arise between the Amphictyonick cities, and to fine the culpable in such manner as they thought fit. They could employ not only the rigour of the laws in the execution of their decrees, but even raise troops, if it were necessary, to compel such as rebelled to submit to them. The three sacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have spoke elsewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were installed into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which * *Æschines* has preserved the form; it runs to this effect: "I swear that I will never destroy any of the cities honoured with the right of sitting in the Amphictyonick council, nor turn their running waters out of their course either in times of war or peace: If any people shall make such an attempt, I hereby engage to carry the war into their country, to demolish their cities, towns, and villages, and to treat them in all things as the most cruel enemies. Moreover, if at any time, any person shall dare to be so impious to steal and take away any of the rich offerings, preserved in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, or abet any others in committing that crime, either by aiding or only counselling him therein, I will use my feet, hands, voice, in a word, all my powers and faculties, to avenge such sacrilege." That oath was attended with the most terrible imprecations and execrations, "That if any one infringes any thing contained in the oath I have now taken, whether private person, city, or people, may that person, city, or people, be deemed accursed; and in that acceptation, experience the whole vengeance of Apollo, Latona, Diana, and Minerva the fore-knower. May their country produce none of the fruits of the earth, and their women, instead of generating children resembling their fathers, bring forth nothing but monsters; may their animals share in the same curse. May these sacrilegious men lose all suits at law; may they be conquered in war, have their houses demolished, and be themselves and their children put to the sword." I am not astonished, that after such terrible en-

gagements, the holy war, undertaken by the order of the Amphictyons, should be carried on with so much ardour and fury. The religion of an oath was of great force with the ancients; and how much more regard ought to be had to it in the Christian world, which professes to believe, that the violation of it shall be punished with eternal torments; and yet how many are there amongst us, who make a trifle of breaking through the most solemn oaths?

The authority of the Amphictyons had always been of great weight in Greece, but it began to decline exceedingly from the moment they condescended to admit Philip of Macedon into their body. For that prince, enjoying by this means all their rights and privileges, soon knew how to set himself above all law, and to abuse his power to sit, as to preside by proxy both in this illustrious assembly, and in the Pythian games; of which games the Amphictyons were judges and Agonothetæ in virtue of their office. This Demosthenes reproaches him with in his third Philippick; *If he does not deign, says he, to honour us with his presence, he sends his SLAVES to preside over us.* An odious, but emphatical term, and in the spirit of the Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator images the base and abject subjection of the greatest lords in Philip's court.

If the reader desires a further knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, the dissertations of Monsieur Valois (a) may be consulted, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein this subject is treated with great extent and erudition.

SECT. IX. *Of the revenues of Athens.*

THE revenues *, according to the passage of Aristophanes which I have cited above, and in consequence as they stood in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thousand talents, that is to say, to six millions of livres. They were generally reduced to four species.

1. The first relates to the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of wood, the produce of mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the publick. Amongst these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandize, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as strangers.

The history of Athens often mentions the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain situate between the Piræum and Cape Sunium; and those of Thrace, from whence many persons

(a) Vol. III.

* Titæ.

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persons extracted immense riches. * Xenophon, in a treatise wherein he states this matter at large, demonstrates, how much the publick might gain by industriously working these mines, from the example of the many persons they had enriched. Hipponicus lett his mines and six hundred slaves to an undertaker, who paid him an † obolus a day for each slave, clear of all charges, which amounted in the whole to a mina, about 5 pounds five shillings. Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, let out his mines and a thousand slaves in the same manner, and with the same profit in proportion to that number.

2. The second species of revenue were the contributions paid by the Athenians by the allies for the common expences of the war. At first, under Aristides, they amounted to only four hundred and sixty talents ‡. Pericles augmented them almost twofold, and raised them to six hundred, and some time after they were run up to thirteen hundred. Taxes, which in the beginning were moderate and necessary, became thus in a little time excessive and exorbitant, notwithstanding all the protestations made the allies, and the most solemn engagements to the contrary.

3. A third sort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, in pressing occasions and emergencies of the state.

4. The fines laid upon persons by the judges for different misdemeanors, were applied to the uses of the publick, and put up in the treasury; except the tenth part of them, which was consecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The most natural and legal application of these different revenues of the republick, was in paying the troops both by sea and land, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing the publick buildings, temples, walls, ports, and fortifications. But the greatest part of them, especially after Pericles's time, was misapplied to unnecessary uses, and often consumed in frivolous expences; games, feasts, and shews, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

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(b) Pag. 925.

* De ration. reddituum.

† Six oboli made a drachma, one hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty

minæ a talent.

‡ A talent was worth a thousand crowns.

SECT. X. *Of the education of the youth.*

I PLACE this article under the head of government, because all celebrated legislators have with reason believed, that the education of youth was an essential part of it.

The exercises that served for the forming of either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians (and as much may be said of almost all the people of Greece) were dancing, musick, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philosophy. It may be observed that I speak generally, and treat very slightly these several articles.

1. *Dancing. Musick.*

Dancing is one of the exercises of the body, cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the ancients called *the Gymnastick*, divided, according to * Plato, into two kinds, *the Orchestrick*, which takes its name from the dance, and *the Palæstrick* †, so called from a Greek word which signifies *wrestling*. The exercises of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other uses of society.

Dancing had another end, and taught such rules of motion, as were most proper to render the shape free and easy; to give the body a just proportion, and the whole person an unconstrained, noble, and graceful air; in a word, an external politeness, if we may be allowed to use that expression, which never fails to prejudice people in favour of those who have been formed to it early.

Musick was cultivated with no less application and success. The ancients ascribed wonderful effects to it. They believed it very proper to calm the passions, soften the manners, and even humanize people naturally savage and barbarous. (c) Polybius, a grave and serious historian, and who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes the extreme difference between two people of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and esteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclinations, humanity to strangers, and piety to the gods; the other, on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion: Polybius, I say, ascribes this difference to the study of musick (I mean, says he, the

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(c) Polyb. p. 288—291.

• Oxyrhynchus. Saltare.

† *Palæstra*.

true and noble musick) industriously cultivated by the one, and absolutely neglected by the other people.

After this it is not surprizing, that the Greeks considered musick as an essential part in the education of youth. • Socrates himself, in a very advanced age, was not ashamed to learn to play upon musical instruments. Themistocles, however otherwise esteemed, † was thought to be wanting in point of merit, because at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre like the rest of the company. ‖ An ignorance in this respect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, a capacity in it did honour to the greatest men. § Epaminondas was praised for dancing, and playing well upon the flute. We may observe in this place the different tastes and genius of nations. The Romans were far from having the same opinion with the Greeks in regard to musick and dancing, and set no value upon them. It is very likely, the wisest and most knowing amongst the latter, did not apply to them with any great industry; and Philip's expression to his son Alexander, who had shewn too much skill in musick at a feast, induces me to me of this opinion: *Are you not ashamed, said he, to sing so well?*

For the rest this esteem for dancing and musick had its foundation. Both the one and the other were employed in the most august feasts and ceremonies of religion, to express their acknowledgment to their gods with the greater force and dignity, for the favours they had vouchsafed to confer upon them. They had generally the greatest share in their feasts and entertainments, which seldom or ever began or ended, without some odes being sung in honour of the victors in the Olympick games, and on other the like occasions. They had a part also in war; and we know, that the Lacedaemonians marched to battle dancing, and to the sound of flutes. (d) Plato, the most grave philosopher of antiquity, considered both these arts, not as simple amusements, but as they had a great share in the ceremonies of religion, and military exercises. Hence we see him very intent, in his books of laws, to prescribe rules upon

E 6

dancing

(d) De leg. l. vii.

• Socrates, jam senex institui lyra non erubescibat. *Quintil. l. i. c. 10.*

† Themistocles, cum in epulis requisisset lyram, habitus est indoctior. *ic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.*

‖ Summam eruditionem Græci cum censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus—discebantque id omnes; et qui nesciebat, satis excultus doc-

trina putabatur. *Ibid.*

§ In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum esse saltasse eum commode, scienterque tibiis cantasse—Scilicet non eadem omnibus honesta sunt atque turpia, sed omnia majorum institutis judicantur. *Corn. Nep. in præfat. vii. Epam.*

dancing and musick, and to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum.

They did not continue long within these restrictions. The licence of the Grecian stage, on which dancing was in the highest vogue, and in a manner prostituted to buffoons and the most contemptible people, who made no other use of it, than to suggest or support the most vicious passions; this licence, I say, soon corrupted an art, which might have been of some advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Musick had a like destiny; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and perverting of dancing. Voluptuousness and sensual pleasure were the sole arbiters consulted in the uses made of both, and the theatre became a school of every kind of vice.

(e) Plutarch, in lamenting that the art of dancing was so much fallen from the merit which rendered it estimable to the great men of antiquity, does not omit to observe, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a soft effeminate musick, with which it was ill united, and which had taken place of the ancient poetry and musick, that had something noble, majestick, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made subservient to low taste and sensuality, by their aid, it exercised a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the publick schools of criminal passions and gross vices, wherein no regard was had to reason.

The reader, without my observing upon it to him, will make the application of this passage of Plutarch to the sort of musick which enprofles our theatres at this day, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the last wound to the little manly force and virtue that remained among us. Quintilian describes the musick of his times in these terms, (f) *Quæ nunc in senis effeminata, & impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.*

2. Of the other exercises of the body.

The young Athenians, and in general all the Greeks, were very intent upon forming themselves to all the exercises of the body, and to go through their lessons regularly with the masters of the Palastræ. They called the places allotted for these exercises, Palastra or Gymnasia; which answers very near to our academies. Plato, in his books of laws, after having shewn of what importance it was in war to cultivate the hands and

(e) *Sympol.* l. ix. qu. 15. p. 748.

(f) *Quintil.* l. i. c. 1.

and feet, (g) that far from banishing from a well-regulated republick the profession of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be proposed for all exercises, that conduce to the improvement of military virtue; such are those which render the body more active, and fitter for the race; more hard, robust, and supple, more capable of supporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterprizes. We must remember, that there was no Athenian, who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largest gallies. The citizens themselves did this office, which was not left to slaves and criminals as in these days. They were all destined to the trade of war, and often obliged to wear arms of iron from head to foot of a great weight. For this reason Plato, and all the ancients, looked upon the exercises of the body as highly useful, and even absolutely necessary to the good of the publick, and therefore this philosopher excludes only those from them, who were incapable of service in war.

(b) There were also masters, who taught the youth to ride, and to handle their arms or fence; and others whose business it was to instruct them in all that was necessary to be known, in order to excel in the art military, and to become good commanders. The whole science of the latter consisted in what the ancients called the *Tactick*, that is to say, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That science was useful, but did not suffice. (i) Xenophon shews its defect, in producing a young man lately come from such a school, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a foolish esteem for himself, attended with perfect ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts upon the business of a soldier, and very proper to form an excellent officer.

Hunting was also considered by the ancients as a fit exercise for forming youth to the stratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reason Xenophon, who was no less a great general than a great philosopher, (k) did not think it below him to write a treatise expressly upon hunting, in which he descends to the lowest particular; and observes upon the considerable advantages consequential of it, from being inured to suffer hunger, thirst, heat, cold, without being discouraged either by the length of the course, the difficulty of the cliffs and thickets, through which it is often necessary to press, or the small success of the long and painful fatigues, which they often undergo to no purpose. He adds, that this innocent pleasure removes
others

(g) 1 ib. viii. de leg. p. 832, 833.

(b) Plut. in Lachete, p. 181.

(f) Memorab. l. iii. p. 761, &c.

(k) De venatione.

others equally shameful and criminal; and that a wise and moderate man would not however abandon himself so much to it as to neglect the care of his domestick affairs. (1) The same author, in the *Cyropædia*, frequently praises hunting, which he looks upon as a real exercise of war, and shews, in the example of his young hero, the good use that may be made of it.

3. *Of the exercise of the mind.*

Athens, to speak properly, was the school and abode of polite learning, arts and sciences. The study of poetry, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematicks, were in great vogue there, and much cultivated by the youth.

The young people were sent first to learn grammar under masters, who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. (m) Hence proceeded the universal fine taste of Athens, where, as history informs us, a simple herb-woman distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger, from the affectation of a single word in expressing himself. And from the same cause the orators were greatly apprehensive of letting fall the least injudicious expression, for fear of offending so refined and delicate an audience. It was very common for the young people to get the tragedies represented upon the stage by heart. We have seen, that after the defeat of the Athenians, before Syracuse, many of them, who had been taken prisoners and made slaves, softened their slavery by reciting the works of Euripides to their masters, who, extremely delighted with hearing such sublime verses, treated them from thenceforth with kindness and humanity. The compositions of the other poets had no doubt the same effect: and Plutarch tells us, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a school in which there was not an Homer, gave the master a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow, (n) and one who dishonoured his profession.

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly studied at Athens. It was that opened the way to the highest offices, reigned absolute in the assemblies, decided the most important affairs of the state, and gave an almost unlimited power to those who had the talent of speaking in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, especially of those who aspired to the highest

(1) *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 5, 6. & l. ii. p. 59, 60.
Quintil. l. viii. c. 1. *Plut.* in *Peric.* p. 136.

(m) *Cic.* in *Brut.* n. 172.
 (n) In *Alcib.* q. 194.

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ighest employments. To the study of rhetorick, they annexed that of philosophy : I comprize under the latter, all the sciences, which are either parts of, or relate to, it. The persons, known to antiquity under the name of sophists, had acquired a great reputation at Athens, especially in the time of Socrates. These teachers, who were as presumptuous as avaricious, set themselves up for universal scholars. Their whole art lay in philosophy and eloquence, both of which they corrupted by the false taste and wrong principles they instilled into their disciples. I have observed, in the life of Socrates, that philosopher's endeavours and success in discrediting them.

C H A P. II.

Of WAR.

ECT. I. *People of Greece in all times very warlike, especially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

NO people of antiquity (I except the Romans) could dispute the glory of arms and military virtue with the Greeks. During the Trojan war Greece signalized her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of the captains she sent thither. This expedition was however, properly speaking, no more than the cradle of her infant glory ; and the great exploits, by which she distinguished herself there, were only her first essays, and apprenticeship in the art of war.

There were in Greece at that time several small republicks, neighbours to one another by their situation, but extremely remote in their customs, laws, characters, and particularly in their interests. This difference of manners and interests was a continual source and occasion of divisions amongst them. Every city, little satisfied with its own dominion, was studious to aggrandize itself at the expence of its next neighbours, according as they lay most commodious for it. Hence all these little states, either out of ambition, and to extend their conquests, or the necessity of a just defence, were always under arms, and, by that continual exercise of war, formed in the universal people a martial spirit, and an intrepidity of courage which made them invincible in the field ; as appeared in the sequel, when the whole united forces of the East came to invade Greece, and made her sensible what she was, and of what capable.

Two cities distinguished themselves above the rest, and held indisputably the first rank; these were Sparta and Athens: In consequence of which those cities, either successively or together, had the empire of Greece, and maintained themselves through a long series of time in a power, which the sole superiority of merit, universally acknowledged by all the other states, had acquired them. This merit consisted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which they had given the most glorious proofs in the war against the Persians. Thebes disputed this honour with them for some years, by surprizing actions of valour, which had something of prodigy in them; but this was but a short-liv'd blaze, which, after having shone out with exceeding splendor, soon disappeared, and left that city in its original obscurity. Sparta and Athens will therefore be the only objects of our reflections as to what relates to war, and we shall join them together in order to be the better able to distinguish their characters, as well in what they resemble, as in what they differ from, each other.

SECT. II. *Origin and cause of the valour and military virtue by which the Lacedaemonians and Athenians always distinguished themselves.*

ALL the laws of Sparta and institutions of Lycurgus seem to have no other object than war, and tended solely to the making the subjects of that republick a body of soldiers. All other employments, all other exercises, were prohibited amongst them. Arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, even husbandry itself, had no share in their applications, and seemed in their eyes unworthy of them. From their earliest infancy no other taste was instilled into them but for arms; and indeed the Spartan education was wonderfully well adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to shift with little meat and drink, to suffer heat and cold, to exercise continual hunting, wrestling, running on foot and horseback, to be inured to blows and wounds so as to vent neither complaint nor groan; these were the rudiments of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to support all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from the most early years, respect for the magistrates and elders, a perfect submission to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military discipline, which is in a manner the soul of war, and the principle of success in all great enterprizes.

Now

Now one of these laws was to conquer or die, and never to surrender to the enemy. Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans was an illustrious example of this, and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the highest applauses and proposed as a model to all posterity, had given the same spirit to the nation, and traced them out the plan they were to follow. The disgrace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to such as quitted their arms in battle, confirmed the observance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable. The mothers recommended to their sons, when they set out for the field, to return either with, or upon their bucklers. They did not weep for those who died with their arms in their hands, but for those who preserved themselves by flight. Can we be surprized, after this, that a small body of such soldiers, with such principles, should put an innumerable army of Barbarians to a stand?

The Athenians were not bred up so roughly as the people of Sparta, but had no less valour. The taste of the two people was quite different in regard to education and employment; but they attained the same end, though by different means. The Spartans knew only how to use their arms, and were no more than soldiers: But amongst the Athenians (and we must say as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, husbandry, commerce and navigation, were held in honour, and thought no disgrace to any one. These occupations were no obstacles to the valour and knowledge necessary in war; they disqualified none for rising to the greatest commands and the first dignities of the republic. Plutarch observes, that Solon, seeing the territory of Attica was barren, applied himself to turning the industry of his citizens upon arts, trades and commerce, in order to supply his country thereby with what it wanted on the side of fertility. This taste became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the state, and perpetuated itself amongst the people, but without lessening in the least their ardor for war.

The ancient glory of the nation, which had always distinguished itself by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their ancestors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had sustained alone the shock of the Barbarians, and gained a signal victory over them, infinitely heightened their courage; and the battle of Salamin, in the success of which they had the greatest share, raised them to the highest pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greatest enterprizes.

A noble emulation not to give place in point of merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a lively jealousy of their glory,

glory, which during the war with the Persians contained within due bounds, were another strong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to excel themselves, and sustain their reputation.

The reward and honours granted to those who had distinguished themselves in battle; the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in the defence of country, the funeral orations publicly pronounced in the midst of the most august religious ceremonies, to render their names immortal; all conspired infinitely to eternize the valor of both nations, and particularly of the Athenians, and to fortitude a kind of law and indispensable necessity to them.

(n) Athens had a law by which it was ordained, that who had been maimed in the war, should be maintained at the expence of the publick. The same grace was granted to fathers and mothers, as well as the children of such who had fallen in battle and left their families poor and not in a condition to subsist themselves. The republick, like a good mother, generously took them into her care, and with great regard to them supplied all the duties, and procured all the relief that could be desired.

This exalted the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, though not very numerous. In the battle of Plataea, where the army of the Barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, consisted of no less than three hundred thousand men, and the united forces of the Greeks of only one hundred and eighty thousand two hundred men, there were in the army only ten thousand Lacedæmonians, of which one half Spartans, that is to say, inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thousand Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him seven Helots, which made in all thirty five thousand men; but they were scarce ever reckoned as soldiers.

This shining merit in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other states and people, did not suppress their minds all sentiments of envy and jealousy; as appeared once in relation to the Lacedæmonians. The allies, who were very much superior to them in number, were in pain at themselves subjected to their order, and murmured against them in secret. Agésilas, king of Sparta, without seeming to

enters, and so on, through the other trades should rise up. Not all the allies did so, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, from all trades were prohibited. Agefilaus then smiling, "you see," said he, "how many more soldiers Sparta furnishes, than all the rest of the allies together;" thereby intimating, that to be a good soldier it was necessary to be only a soldier; that trades diverted the artisan from applying himself wholly to the profession of arms and the science of war, and prevented his succeeding so well in it, as those who made it their sole business and exercise. But Agefilaus spoke and acted in that manner from the prejudice of his opinion in favour of Lacedæmonian education; for indeed those, whom he was having considered only as simple artisans, had well demonstrated in the glorious victories they had obtained over the Persians, and even Sparta itself, that they were by no means inferior to the Lacedæmonians, entirely soldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

ART. III. *Different kind of troops of which the armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were composed.*

THE armies both of Sparta and Athens were composed of four sorts of troops: Citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. The soldiers were sometimes marked in the hand, to distinguish them from the slaves, who had that character impressed on their forehead. Interpreters believe, that in allusion to this double manner of marking, it is said in the Revelations, that all were obliged (o) *to receive the mark of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheads*; and that St. Paul says of himself; (p) *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus*.

The citizens of Lacedæmonia were of two sorts, either those who inhabited Sparta itself, and who for that reason were called Spartans, or those who lived in the country. In Lysurgus's time the Spartans amounted to nine thousand, and the others thirty thousand. This number seems to have been somewhat diminished in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, speaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only eight thousand Spartans. The latter were the flower of the nation, and we may judge of the value they set upon them, by the anxiety the publick expressed for three or four hundred, besieged by the Athenians in the small island of Sphacteria, where they were taken prisoners. The Lacedæmonians generally spared the tops of their country very much, and sent only a few of them to the armies. When a Lacedæmonian general was asked,

(o) Rev. xiii. 16.

(p) Gal. vi. 17.

how many Spartans there was in the army; he answered, *more as are necessary to repulse the enemy.* They served the state at their own expense, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the publick.

The greatest number of the troops in the two republick were composed of the *Allices*, who were paid by the cities which sent them.

The foreign troops in the pay of the republick, to the aid of which they were called in, were stiled *Mercenaries*.

The Spartans never marched without Helots, and we have seen that in the battle of Platæa every citizen had seven. I do not believe this number was fixed, nor do I well comprehend for what service they were designed. It would have been very ill policy to have put arms into the hands of so great a number of slaves, generally much discontented with their masters harsh treatment of them, and who in consequence had every thing to fear from them in a battle. Herodotus, however, in the passage I have recited from him, represents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed soldiers.

The infantry consisted of two kinds of soldiers. The one were heavy-armed, and carried great bucklers, lances, half pikes and scymitars. The other were light-armed, that is to say, with bows and slings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a first line to shoot their arrows, and sling their javelins and stones at the enemy and when they had discharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a second line, and continued the volleys.

(7) Thucydides, in describing the battle of Mantinæa, describes the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner. There were seven regiments of four companies each, without including the Squads, to the number of six hundred; these were horsemen of whom I shall soon speak further. The company consisted according to the Greek interpreter, of an hundred and twenty eight men, and was subdivided into four platoons, each of thirty-two men. So that a regiment amounted to five hundred and twelve men, and the seven made together three thousand five hundred forty-two and four. Each platoon had four men in front and eight in depth, for that was the usual depth of the files, which the officers might change according to occasion.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to use cavalry till after the war with Mællene, where they perceived their want of it. (8) They raised their horse principally in a small city not far from Lacedæmon, called *Sarrea*, from whence they

(7) *Lib. v. p. 392.*

(8) *Thucyd. l. v. p. 392.*

pa were denominat'd *Scirites*, or *Squirites*. They were all on the extremity of the left wing, and this was their post right.

Cavalry was still more rare amongst the Athenians: the situation of Attica, broke with abundance of mountains, was the cause of this. It did not amount, after the war with the Persians, which was the time when the prosperity of Greece was at the highest, to more than three hundred horse; but increased afterwards to twelve hundred; a small body for so powerful a publick.

I have already observed, that amongst the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, no mention is made of the stirrup, which is very surprizing. They threw themselves nimbly on horseback.

—Corpora saltu

Subjiciunt in equos.——Æn. l. xi. ver. 287.

And with a leap sit steady on the horse.

Sometimes the horse, broke early to that kind of manage, would stoop down before, to give his master the opportunity of mounting with more ease;

Inde inclinatus collum, submissus et armis

Demore, inflexis prætebat, scandere terga

Cruribus. Sil. Ital. de equo Cælii Equ. Rom.

Those whom age or weakness rendered heavy, made use of a servant in mounting on horseback; in which they imitated the Persians, with whom it was the common custom. Gracchus caused fine stones to be placed on each side of the great roads of Italy at certain distances from one another, to help travellers to get on horseback without the assistance of any body*.

I am surprized that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not distinguish, that the cavalry was the most essential part of an army, especially in battles; and that some of their generals did not turn their attention that way, as Themistocles did in regard to maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a like service in respect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly apprized. He wrote two treatises upon this subject; one of which regards the care it is necessary to take of horses, and how to understand and break them; to which he adds the exercise of the Squadron; both well worth the reading of all those who profess arms. In the latter he

states

* *Ἄνεκτος μὲν βορέαυος.* This word *ἀνεκτος*, signifies a servant, who helped his master to mount on horseback.

on to the number of forty in some vessels, were one another. To support this last opinion, innumerable are cited from ancient authors, which seem to leave no of doubt in it, and are considerably corroborated by the of Trajan, which represents these ranks one above : Father Montfaucon however avers, that all the per greatest skill in naval affairs, whom he had consulted, that the thing conceived in that manner, seemed utterly impossible. But such a way of reasoning is a weak against the experience of so many ages, confirmed by authors. It is true, that in admitting these ranks of be disposed perpendicularly one above another, it is not to comprehend how they could be worked ; but in the and triremes of the column of Trajan, the lower ranks placed obliquely, and as it were rising by degrees.

In ancient times the ships with several ranks of oars were known : They made use of long ships in which the of whatever number they were, worked all upon the same (a) Such was the fleet which the Greeks sent against It was composed of twelve hundred sail, of which the galle Boeotia had each an hundred and twenty men, and the Philoetetes fifty ; and this no doubt intends the greatest smallest vessels. Their gallees had no decks, but were like common boats ; which is still practised, says Thucyd by the pirates, to prevent their being so soon discovered at distance.

(b) The Corinthians are said to have been the first to change the form of ships, and instead of simple gallees vessels with three ranks, in order to add by the multiplying oars to the swiftness and impetuosity of their motion. Their city, advantageously situated between two seas, lay open to commerce, and served as a staple for merchandize. In their example the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily, equipped also many gallees of three benches, before the war against the Persians. It was about the same time the Athenians, at the warm instances of Themistocles who foresaw the war which soon broke out, built ships of the same form, the whole deck not being yet in use ; and thenceforth they applied themselves to naval affairs with redoubled ardour and success.

The beak of the prow (*rostrum*) was that part of the vessel which most use was made in sea-fights. (c) Arifton of Syracuse persuaded the Syracusans, when their city was besieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and shorter ; wh

(a) Thucyd. l. i. p. 8.

(b) Thucyd. l. i. p. 10.

(c) Dio

ce gained them the victory. For the prows of the Athenian ships being very high and very weak, their beaks struck only the parts above water, and for that reason did little damage to the enemy's ships; whereas the Syracusans, whose prows were long and low, and their beaks level with the water, at a single blow often sunk the triremes of the Athenians.

Two sorts of people served on board these galleys. The one were employed in steering and working the ship, who were the *stewards*, *trimmers*, and the mariners, *navies*. The rest were soldiers intended for the fight, and are meant in Greek by the word *παιῖδες*. This distinction was not understood in the early times, when the same persons rowed, fought, and did all the necessary work of the ship; which was not wholly disused in later days. For (d) Thucydides, in describing the arrival of the Athenian fleet, at the small island of Sphacteria, observes, that only the rowers of the lowest bench remained in the ship, and that the rest went on shore with their arms.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already said, that the rowers, as well as mariners, were all citizens and freemen, and not slaves or strangers, as in these days. The rowers were distinguished by their several stages. The lower rank were called *Thalamitæ*, the middle *Zugitæ*, and the highest *Thranitæ*. Thucydides remarks, that the latter had greater pay than the rest, because they worked with longer and heavier oars than those of the lower benches. * It seems that the crew, in order to act in concert, and with better effect, were sometimes guided by the singing of a man, and sometimes by the sound of an instrument; and this grateful harmony served not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to diminish and soothe the pains of their labour.

It is a question amongst the learned, whether there was a man to every oar in these great ships, or several, as in the galleys of these days. What Thucydides observes on the pay of the *Thranitæ*, seems to imply that they worked single. For if others had shared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay than them than those who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much, and perhaps more of the labour than them? Rather Montfaucon believes, that in the vessels of five ranks there might be several men to one oar.

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(d) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 275.

* Musicam natura ipsa videtur ad levandos facilis labores veluti muneri nobis dedisse. Siquidem et regibus cantus hortatur; nec solum in operibus, in quibus plurimum for-

natus præcunte aliqua jucunde voce conspirat sed etiam singulorum regulatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur, Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the vessel, was called *nauclerus*, and was the principal officer. The second was the pilot, *gubernator*; his place was in the port where he held the helm in his hand, and steered the vessel. His skill consisted in knowing the coasts, ports, rocks, shoals, and especially the winds and stars; for before the invention of the compass, the pilot had nothing to direct him during the night but the stars.

2. The soldiers, who fought in the ships, were armed almost in the same manner with the land-forces.

(c) The Athenians, at the battle of Salamin, had an hundred and fourscore vessels, and in each of them eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed troops. The officer who commanded these soldiers was called *τριηραρχος*, and the commander of the whole fleet, *ναυαρχος* or *στρατηγος*.

We cannot exactly say the number of soldiers, marine and rowers, that served on board each ship; but it generally amounted to two hundred, more or less, as appears from Herodotus's estimate of the Persian fleet in the time of Xerxes and in other places where he mentions that of the Greeks. I mean here the great vessels, the triremes, which were the species most in use.

The pay of those who served in these ships varied very much at different times. When young Cyrus arrived in Asia (f), it was only three oboli, which was half a drachma, or five-pence; and the treaty between the Persians and Lacedæmonians was concluded upon this foot; which gives reason to believe, that the usual pay was three oboli. Cyrus, at Lysander's request, added a fourth, which made six-pence half-penny a day. (g) It was often raised to a whole drachma, about ten-pence French. In the fleet fitted out against Sicily the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops. The sum of sixty talents (b), which the people of Egæta advanced the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of sixty ships, shews that the pay of each vessel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to say, to three thousand livres; which supposes, that each ship's complement consisted of two hundred men, each of whom received a drachma or ten-pence a day. As the officers' pay was higher, the republic perhaps either furnished the overplus, or it was deducted.

(c) Plut. in Themist. p. 119.

(g) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431.

(f) Xenoph. hist. l. i. p. 44.

(b) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415.

* This treaty stipulated, that the Persians should pay thirty minæ a month for each ship, which was half a talent; the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that served on board. About 8400 l. sterling.

lacked out of the total of the sum advanced for a vessel, by debating something in the pay of the private men.

The same may be said of the land troops as had been said of the seamen, except that the horse had double their pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occasions.

(r) Thimbron the Lacedæmonian, when he marched against Tissaphernes, promised a darick a month to each soldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a darick a month is four oboli a day. Young Cyrus, to animate his troops, whom a too long march had discouraged, instead of one darick, promised one and a half to each soldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten-pence French a day.

It may be asked how the Lacedæmonians, whose iron coin, the only species current amongst them, would go no where else, could maintain armies by sea and land, and where they found money for their subsistence. It is not to be doubted, but they raised it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and still more from the cities to which they gave liberty and protection, or from those they had conquered from their enemies. Their second fund for paying their fleet and armies was the aids they drew from the king of Persia, as we have seen on several occasions.

SECT. V. *Peculiar character of the Athenians.*

PLUTARCH furnishes us with almost all the matter upon this head. Every body knows how well he succeeds in copying nature in his portraits, and how proper a person he was to trace the character of a people, whose genius and manners he had studied with so profound an attention.

(k) “ I. * The people of Athens,” says Plutarch, “ were easily provoked to anger, and as easily induced to resume their sentiments of benevolence and compassion.” History supplies us with an infinity of examples of this kind. The sentence of death passed against the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day : The condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates, both followed with an immediate repentance and the most lively grief.

“ II. † They were better pleased with penetrating, and almost guessing an affair of themselves, than to give themselves leisure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all its extent.”

† 2

Nothing

(i) Xenoph. exped. Cyr. l. vii.

(k) Plut. in præcept. reip. græc. p. 793.

* Ὁ δὲ λαὸς Ἀθηναίων ἐκείνους ἔσπευσε ἀπαρτύνειν, καὶ ἀντιπαρῆκεν αὐτοῖς ἀπορίαν.

† Ἡ δὲ πλειοψηφία αὐτῶν ἡρώδης ἡγεμονίᾳ ἐκείνῳ ἀντιπαρῆκεν ἀπορίαν.

Nothing is more surprising than this circumstance in their character, which it is very hard to conceive, and seems almost incredible. Artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, mariners, are generally a dull, heavy kind of people, and very gross in their conceptions; but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally an amazing penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit. I have already mentioned what happened to Theophrastus. * He was chesponing something of an old woman at Athens that sold herbs: *No, Mr. Stranger, said she, you shall have it for no less.* He was strangely surprized to see himself treated as a stranger, who had passed almost his whole life at Athens, and who piqued himself upon excelling all others in the elegance of his language. It was however from that she knew he was not of her country. We have said, that the Athenian soldiers knew the fine passages of Euripides by heart. These artificers and soldiers, from assisting at the public deliberations, were besides versed in affairs of state, and understood every thing at half a word. We may judge of this from the orations of Demosthenes, whose style we know is ardent, brief, and concise.

“ III. [As they naturally inclined to relieve persons of a low condition and mean circumstances, so they were fond of conversations seasoned with pleantry, and proper to make people laugh.”

(1) They assisted persons of a mean condition, because from such they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and saw in them the characters of equality and resemblance with themselves. They loved pleantry, and shewed in that they were men; but men abounding with humanity and indulgence, who understood railery, who were not prone to take offence, nor over delicate in point of respect to be paid them. One day when the assembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places and sat down, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at last with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and desired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day. “ For to day,” said he, “ I have business. I have been sacrificing to the gods, and am to entertain some strangers, my friends, at supper.” The Athenians, setting up a laugh, rose and broke

(1) Xenoph. de Athen. Pop. p. 691.

* C. in Theophrastus percontationibus
ex antiquis de quibus, quante diei ad
venerunt, et respondit illi, quod
addidit illi, non potest respondere;
sed mox illi, de non effugere respondere
dixit, cum attulit agere Athenis,

quoniamque in quoniam. C. de C. de
Theophrastus.

¶ Theophrastus, in percontationibus, de quibus
dixit, quod addidit illi, non potest respondere;
sed mox illi, de non effugere respondere
dixit, cum attulit agere Athenis.

broke up the assembly. At Carthage, such a pleasantry would have cost any man his life; that had presumed to vent it, and to take such a liberty with a * proud, haughty, jealous, morose people, of a genius averse to complacency, and less inclined to humour. Upon another occasion the orator Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and in consequence caused sacrifices to be offered, three days after news came of the defeat of the army. As the people expressed their discontent and resentment upon the false information, he asked them, “ of
“ what they had to complain, and what harm he had done
“ them, in making them pass three days more agreeably than
“ they would else have done ? ”

“ IV. † They were pleased with hearing themselves praised, and could not bear to be railed at, or criticised.” The least acquaintance with Aristophanes and Demosthenes will shew, with what address and effect they employed praises and criticism with regard to the people of Athens.

(m) When the republick enjoyed peace and tranquillity, says the same Plutarch in another place, the Athenian people diverted themselves with the orators who flattered them : But in important affairs, and emergencies of the state, they became serious, and gave the preference to those, whose custom it had been to oppose their unjust desires ; such as Pericles, Phocion, and Demosthenes.

“ V. § They kept those who governed them in awe, and shewed their humanity even to their enemies.”

The people of Athens made good use of the talents of those who distinguished themselves by their eloquence and prudence ; but they were full of suspicion, and kept themselves always on their guard against their superiority of genius and ability : They took pleasure in restraining their courage, and lessening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the ostracism, which was instituted only as a curb on those, whose merit and popularity ran too high, and which spared neither the greatest nor the most worthy persons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous and apprehensive for their liberty, with regard to those who governed.

As to what relates to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour ; they did not make an insolent use of victory, nor exercise any cruelty towards the vanquished. The amnesty

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decreed

(m) Plut. in Phocion. p. 746.

* Πικρὸν, συνήθη, καὶ ἐκ ἀπορίας ἢ χόλου | τὴν δὲ συντήρησιν ἤμισα εὐχαρίστησι.
ἀνέβηεν αἱ παλαίαι. | § Φιλαρὸς ἔστιν ὅχι τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀλλὰ
† Τὴν μὲν ἀποτίθειν ἐν τῇ μέλει, καὶ | φιλόφρωντα ὅχι τῶν ἀπολαύων.

decreed after the tyranny of the Thirty, shews that they forget the injuries which had been done them.

To these different characteristics, which Plutarch in the same passage of his works, some others may be added extracted principally from the same author.

VI. It was from this * fund of humanity and benevolence of which I have now spoke, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were so attentive to the rules of justice, and so delicate in point of just behaviour; qualities which would not expect to find among the common people. In the war against Philip of Macedon, having intercepted his couriers, they read all the letters he carried, except Olympias his wife, which they returned sealed up as opened, out of regard to conjugal love and secrecy, though of which are sacred, and ought to be respected even as enemies. The same Athenians having decreed, that a search should be made after the presents distributed by him amongst the orators, would not suffer the house of Cæcilius who was lately married, to be visited, out of respect to his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not common, and upon like occasions people do not stand upon forms and politeness.

VII. The taste of the Athenians for all arts and sciences so well known to require dwelling long upon it in this history. Besides which, I shall have occasion to speak of it with more extent elsewhere. But we cannot see without admiration a people composed for the most part, as I have said best artists, husbandmen, soldiers, and mariners, carry deep of taste in every kind to so high a degree of perfection, seems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition and noble education.

VIII. It is no less wonderful, that this people should have such great views, and rose so high in their pretensions. When Alcibiades made them undertake, filled with vast and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themselves to the taking of Syracuse, or the conquest of Sicily, but had added Italy, Peloponnesus, Libya, the Carthaginian gate to the empire of the sea to the Pillars of Hercules. Their prize failed, but they had formed it; and the taking of Syracuse, which seemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

IX.

(*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

* Πίστριν δὲ τοὺς ἀνὴρ ὁμοφρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς φιλοπόνημασι. In Pelop. p. 280.

† Μηδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν, μηδὲ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξέτασι. Plut.

IX. The same people, so great, and, one may say, so haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other respects. In what regarded the expence of the table, dress, furniture, private buildings, and; in a word, private life, they were frugal, simple, modest, and poor; but sumptuous and magnificent in all things publick, and capable of doing honour to the state. Their victories, conquests, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Asia minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profusion amongst them. (o) Xenophon observes, that a citizen could not be distinguished from a slave by his dress. The richest inhabitants, and the most famous generals, were not ashamed to go to market themselves.

It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed so many excellent persons in the arts of war and government; in philosophy, eloquence, poesy, painting, sculpture, and architecture: Of having furnished alone more great men in every kind than any other city of the world; if perhaps we except Rome, which * had imbibed learning and arts from her, and knew how to apply her lessons to the best advantage; of having been in some sort the school, and tutor of almost the whole universe; of having served, and still continuing to serve, as the model for nations, which pique themselves most upon the excellency of taste; in a word, of having taught the language, and prescribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind. The part of this history, wherein I shall treat the sciences and learned men, that rendered Greece illustrious, with the arts also and those who excelled in them, will set this in a clear light.

X. I shall conclude this description of the Athenians with one more attribute, which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprizes; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling passion and great principle of policy. We see them, from the commencement of the war with the Persians, sacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandoned, without the least regret, their lands, estates, city, and houses, and remove to their ships in order to fight the common enemy, whose view was to enslave them. What could be more glorious for Athens, than, when all the allies were trembling at the vast offers made her by the king

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(o) De Rep. Athen. p. 693.

* Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit agresti Latio.

Horat. Epist. 1. 1. 2.

Greece taken, took her savage victors hearts,
And giv'd rustick Latium with her arts.

king of Persia, to answer his ambassador by the mouth of (p) Aristides, that all the gold and silver in the world was not capable of tempting them to sell their own, or the liberty of Greece. It was from such generous sentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preserved the rest of Europe, and all the western world, from the invasion of the Persians.

These great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverse of them, such as we may imagine in a fluctuating light, in constant, capricious people, as the Athenians.

SECT. VI. *Common character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

I CANNOT refuse giving a place here to what Mr. Boswell says upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The passage is long, but will not appear so, and is still all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both these people.

Amongst all the republicks of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more solid sense than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleasure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but the liberty of Athens tended to licence; and controuled by severe laws at Lacedæmon, the more restrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itself in rule abroad. Athens was also for reigning, but upon another principle, in which interest had a share with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and the sovereignty at sea had enriched her. To continue in the sole possession of all commerce, there was nothing she would not have subjected to her power; and her riches, which inspired this passion, supplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republick, the glory of arms was the sole object that engrossed her citizens. From thence she naturally affected dominion; and the more she was above interest, the more she abandoned herself to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was steady and determinate in her maxims and measures. Athens was more lively and active, and the people too much masters. Their laws and philosophy had indeed the most happy effects upon such exquisite natural parts as theirs, but reason alone was not capable of

keeping

keeping them within due bounds. (q) A wise Athenian, who knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us, that fear was necessary to those too ardent and free spirits; and that it was impossible to govern them, after the victory at Salamin had removed their fears of the Persians.

Two things then ruined them, the glory of their great actions, and the supposed security of their present condition. The magistrates were no longer heard, and as Persia was afflicted with excessive slavery, so Athens, says Plato, experienced all the evils of excessive liberty.

These two great republicks, so contrary in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in the design they had each formed of subjecting all Greece; so that they were always enemies, more from the contrariety of their interests, than the incompatibility of their humours.

The Grecian cities were against submitting to the dominion of either the one or the other; for, besides the desire of preserving their liberty, they found the empire of those two republicks too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians was severe. That people were observed to have something almost brutal in their character. (r) A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, austere, and imperious in power: Besides which they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war, could not support itself, but by continuing perpetually in arms. (s) So that the Lacedæmonians were capable of attaining to command, and all the world were afraid they should do so.

(t) The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feasts and games were perpetual, where wit, liberty, and the various passions of men, daily exhibited new objects: But the inequality of their conduct disgusted their allies, and was still more insupportable to their own subjects. It was impossible for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people, that is to say, according to Plato, something more dangerous than the same excesses in a prince vitiated by flattery.

These two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repose. We have seen the Peloponnesian and other wars, which were always occasioned, or fomented, by the jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the same jealousies which involved Greece in troubles, supported it in some measure, and prevented its

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falling

(q) Plat. l. iii. de Leg. (r) Aristot. Polit. l. i. p. 4. (s) Xenoph. de Rep. Lacœn. (t) Plat. de Rep. l. viii.

falling into the dependence of either the one or the other of those republicks.

The Persians soon perceived this condition of Greece, and accordingly the whole mystery of their politicks consisted in keeping up those jealousies, and fomenting those divisions. Lacedæmon, which was the most ambitious, was the first that gave them occasion to enter into the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the sole view of making themselves masters of the whole nation; and industrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to crush them all together. (u) The states of Greece in their wars already regarded only the king of Persia, whom they called the Great King, or *the king*, by way of eminence, as if they had already been of the number of his subjects. But it was impossible that the ancient spirit of Greece should not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into slavery and the hands of the Barbarians.

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppose this great king, and to ruin his empire. (x) With a small army, but bred in the discipline we have related, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, made the Persians tremble in Asia minor, and shewed it was not impossible to subvert their power. The divisions of Greece alone put a stop to his conquests. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, who, after the death of young Cyrus, made their way in a hostile manner through the whole Persian empire, and returned into their own country; that action, I say, demonstrated to Greece more than ever, that their soldiery was invincible, and superior to all opposers; and that only their domestick divisions could subject them to an enemy too weak to resist their united force.

We shall see, in the series of this history, by what methods Philip king of Macedon, taking advantage of these divisions, came at length, between address and force, to make himself little less than the sovereign of Greece, and to oblige the whole nation to march under his colours against the common enemy. What he had only planned, his son Alexander brought to perfection; and shewed the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail against the most numerous armies and the most formidable preparations.

(u) Plut. l. iii. de leg. Mocrat. Panegy.

(x) Polyb. l. iii.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF
DIONYSIUS
THE
ELDER AND YOUNGER,
TYRANTS OF SYRACUSE.

SYRACUSE had regained its liberty about sixty years, by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed in that interval, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow, are of a different nature, and make amends for the chasm; I mean the reigns of Dionysius the father and son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty-eight, and the * other twelve, in all fifty years. As this history is entirely foreign to what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place all together and by itself; observing only, that the first twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almost in point of time with the last twenty of the preceding volume.

This history will present to our view a series of the most diabolical and horrid crimes, though it abounds at the same time with instruction. When † on the one side we behold a prince, he declared enemy of liberty, justice and laws, treading under

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his

* After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-ascended the throne, and reigned two or three years.

† Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiæ, legum exitium—alios uret, alios verberabit, alios obitus assensum jubebit detruncari.

Seneca. de consol. ad Marc. c. xvii.

Sanguine humano non tantum gaudet, sed pascitur; sed ut suppliciiis omnium ætatum crudelitatem insatiabilem explet. Id. de Benef. l. viii. c. 19.

his sect the most sacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a slight word, delighting and feasting himself with human blood, and gratifying his savage inhumanity with the sufferings and miseries of every age and condition: I say, when we behold such an object, can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itself hath confessed, and Plutarch takes occasion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily; that God in his anger gives such princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal. On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorse and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, * *That it is not without reason the oracle of Apollo has declared, that if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings.*

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them, he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives with his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he apprehends the use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve to evidence his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and sanction of the † laws. A tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, says Plutarch upon Dionysius, that he is not really § master, and does not act with supreme authority, but as he sets himself above all laws, has no other but his will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can

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* Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si reculantur tyrannorum, mentes posse aspici lamatus & ictus; quando, ut corpora verueribus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis confusis animus dilaceraretur. Tacit. *Annal.* l. vi. c. 6.

† Hæc est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate intendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in civis suos liceat,

experiendo tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui—Quid inter, si inter tyrannum & regem (species enim ipsa fortune ac licentia par est) nisi quod tyranni in voluptate læviunt, reges non nisi ex causa & necessitate? Seneca de Clem. lib. i. c. 11.

§ Ἐὰν ἀναστέλων μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅσον τοῦτο ἢ βασιτεῖαι αὐτῶν μέγας ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυροὶ ἢ ἐν τῷ τοῦ τοῦ βασιτεῖαι αὐτῶν ἰσχυροὶ. Ad Princ. indeft. p. 782.

riches and authority, would be solely employed for the public good, and apply in earnest to the re-establishment of the law of Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, speeches are, which flatter the natural propensity of men to complain of the government, and was followed with universal applause of the people, who always give them up blindly to those, who know how to deceive them under specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed upon the spot, and others substituted in their room, with Dionysius at the head of them.

This was only the first step to the tyranny, at which he did not stop. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the placing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he applied to it with address. Before he attacked openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance, calumniating them by his emissaries to the people, and so no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held intelligence with the enemy; that disguised couriers were frequently seen passing and re-passing; and that it was not doubted, but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected to consider not to see those leaders, nor to open himself to them upon the affairs of the publick. He communicated no part of his designs to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not able to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion: But the common people, persuaded in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired him, and looked upon him as the sole protector and assertor of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons scattered throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobles at Syracuse had expelled the city at different times, and under different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength and numbers a body of citizens would be to him, whom he considered as a benefactor, and resentment against those who had caused their banishment, the hope of retrieving their fortunes, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies rendered most proper for the execution of his designs,

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attached unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence, to which new levies would amount. Dionysius took the advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the disposition of the publick. He represented, that it was as ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and Peloponnesus, whilst they might supply themselves with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: that there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chose rather to wander about Sicily without support or settlement, than to take arms in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without losing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependance of Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be reinforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the publick. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promised the troops he brought with him to Syracuse to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having

promised

which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and assembled ſ parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train of a tyrant.

With this effort he returned to Syracuſe, that trembl his approach. The people were no longer in a condi oppoſe his undertakings, or to diſpute his authority city was full of foreign ſoldiers, and ſaw itſelf upon th of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To ſtrength ſelf the more in tyranny, he eſpouſed the daughter o mocrates, the moſt powerful citizen of Syracuſe, and u contributed the moſt to the defeat of the Athenians. gave his ſiſter in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in- Hermocrates. He afterwards ſummoned an aſſembly, i he rid himſelf of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had b moſt active in oppoſing his uſurpation. In this manner ſus, from a ſimple notary and a citizen of the loweſt claſ himſelf abſolute lord and tyrant of the greateſt and moſt city of Sicily.

SECT. II. *Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuſe againſt I. SIUS. He finds means to diſpel them. To prevent re propoſes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful agy and ſucceſs in making preparations for the war. PLAT to Syracuſe. His intimacy and friendſhip with DION.*

(d) **D**IONYSIUS had a rude ſhock to experience beginning of his uſurpation. The Cartha having beſieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and aft unſucceſſful endeavours againſt the enemy, threw himſ the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and ſervice he did the inhabitants was to make them aband city in the night, and to cover their flight in perſon. ſuſpected of acting in concert with the enemy, and th becauſe they did not purſue him, and that he loſt very his foreign ſoldiers. All the inhabitants who remained were butchered. Thoſe of Camarina, to avoid the ſa followed their example, and withdrew with all the eſſe could carry away. The moving ſight of aged perſons, n young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyon ſtrength, ſtruck Dionyſius's troops with compaſſion, i ceuſed them againſt the tyrant. Thoſe he had raiſed withdrew to their own country, and the Syracuſan c after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the from his being ſurrounded with his foreigners, made fo and having entered Syracuſe, went directly to his palace

plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, followed them close with an hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and having reached almost twenty leagues (e) with the utmost expedition, arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found shut in front of him. He set fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. The richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute the entrance, but were surrounded by the soldiers, and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced them to leave Syracuse. The next day in the morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Geia and Marina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontes. Imilcar having sent an herald to Syracuse, a treaty was concluded as mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians. (f) By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died (g).

It was then he sacrificed every thing that gave him umbrage to his repose and security. He knew, that after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was dear to them, he could not expect of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the fear of miseries he had to expect in consequence, increased in the proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon his new subjects as so many enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people, to intimidate the other. He did not observe, that by adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at least their lives by attempting upon his.

(b) Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not be so ready to take the advantage of the repose, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the part of the city, called the Isle, which was before very strong from the nature of its situation, and might be defended with a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, linked at due distances with high towers, and separated in

that

(e) 400 *stadia*.

(f) Vol. I.

(g) A. M. 3600. ART. J. C. 404

(b) *Diod.* p. 235, 241.

that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and refuge in case of accident, and caused a great number of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his making, and distributed the rest in equal proportion amongst the citizens and strangers, including the slaves, who had been made free amongst the first. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the isle for such of the citizens as he could most confide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the siege of Herbesles. The Syracusans in his army, seeing their swords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed on the spot, and his death served as signal for their revolt. They sent immediately to Ætna for the horse, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolvers followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolis, barred all communication with the country. They received aid from their allies both by sea and land, and setting a price upon the tyrant's head, promised the freedom of the city to such of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolvers, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, and five ships to transport his people and effects. He had however sent dispatches secretly to the Capanians, who *garrisoned* the places in the possession of the Carthaginians,

with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who, after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprized and alarmed the city. After having beat such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his assistance: The face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionysius, in a sally, drove them vigorously as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those that fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to Ætna to understand, that they might return with entire security. Many came to Syracuse, but others did not think it advisable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction, and dismissed.

The Lacedæmonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse, as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly in all the cities of their dependance against popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuse, to express in appearance the part they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was sent to confirm Dionysius in supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting, that from the increase of his power he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the future. Whilst the inhabitants were employed abroad in harvest-work, he entered their houses, and seized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards inclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his safety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he did not only propose the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from the sense of their lost liberty, by turning their attention upon their ancient and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder

were refitted by his order ; he caused also an hundred sheds to be erected within the great port, each of them of containing two gallies, and an hundred and fifty more repaired.

The sight of such a fleet, built in so short a time, a out with so much magnificence, would have given to believe, that all Sicily had united its labours and rev accomplishing so great a work. On the other side, t of such an incredible quantity of arms newly made, w inclined one to think, that Dionysius had solely employ self in providing them, and had exhausted his treasure expence. They consisted of one hundred and forty t shields, and as many helmets and swords ; and up fourteen thousand cuirasses, finished with all the art gance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, an were innumerable, and engines and machines of war portion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of and strangers. Dyonisius did not think of raising troop his preparations were compleat. Syracuse and the citi dependance supplied him with part of his forces. Ma from Greece, especially from Sparta. The considerable offered brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to li service.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to the of his enterprize ; the importance as well as difficulty o was well known to him. He was not ignorant that eve depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for t neral, and applied himself particularly to the gaining hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the inh of Sicily, and succeeded in it to a wonder. He had changed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, c clemency, a disposition to do good, and an insinuat placency for all the world, had taken place of that haug imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had r him so odious. He was so entirely altered, that he c seem to be the same man.

Whilst he was hastening his preparations for the w applying to the attainment of his subjects affections, he tated an alliance with the two powerful cities, Rhegiu Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great by a formidable diversion. The league formed by tho *some* time before, though without any effect, gave him

lines. He therefore thought it necessary to make sure of
y of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina
a considerable quantity of land, which was situate in
neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them.
give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem
regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire that
would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He
lost his first wife in the popular commotion, as before
ed.

yonysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more
ually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into
ime designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan,
observe the same maxims of government, took the oppor-
y of the present tranquillity of his affairs, to contract a
le marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he
t transfer the sovereignty, which had cost him so many
and dangers to acquire.

ne people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied,
ig called a counsel to take his demand into consideration,
to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant ;
for their final answer returned, that they had only the hang-
s daughter to give him. The raillery was home and cut
. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for
jest.

ne Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambassa-
did not shew themselves so difficult and delicate, but sent
Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their
illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from
s in a galley with five benches of rowers of extraordinary
niscence, and shining on all sides with gold and silver. He
ed, at the same time, Aristomache, daughter of Hippari-
the most considerable and powerful of the Syracusan citi-
and sister of Dion, of whom much will be said hereafter.
was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white
s, which was then a singular mark of distinction. The
als of both were celebrated the same day with universal re-
gs throughout the whole city, and was attended with
and presents of incredible magnificence.

was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the
rn nations from all antiquity that he espoused two wives at
; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed
rants of setting themselves above all laws.

onysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two
, without giving the preference to either, to remove all
of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported,

that he preferred his own country-woman to the stranger ; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her husband the first son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of child-bearing ; though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her, that he put his Loerian's mother to death ; accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Artemon's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but after distinguishing his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks Dionysius gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treasurers to supply him, without farther orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the same day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and most noble soul. An happy accident had conduced to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch says, a peculiar providence, which at distance laid the foundations of the Syracusan liberty, that brought Plato the most celebrated of philosophers, to Syracuse. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons: for though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that incalculates virtue, than his soul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him; that he never met with a young man, upon whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had conceived his principles with so much ardour and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, observing the facility with which Pluto had changed his taste and inclination, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reason would have the same effect upon the mind of Dionysius; and from that opinion could not tell till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear, and converse with him. Dionysius contented himself with the lust of tyrannick power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be eradicated from it. It was like an indelible dye that had penetrated his immort soul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.

'I' thought

* Το βιβλίο αυτό είναι η γερμανική έκδοση του έργου "Die Kunst der Moral", p. 79.

) Though the stay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius, he persevered in giving Dion the same instances of esteem and confidence, and even to support, without giving offence, the freedom with which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the *laughing-stock* (1) of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no small pains in praising the subtlety and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and quibbles generally are. Dionysius took it in a serious sense, and was so bold to represent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wise and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of his monarchical power. *You reign,* added he, *and have been despised for Gelon's sake; but for your sake, no man will ever be despised after you.* It was very much, that a tyrant should suffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.

T. III. DIONYSIUS declares war against the Carthaginians. Various success of it. Syracuse reduced to extremities, and Dionysius delivered. New commotions against DIONYSIUS. Defeat of IMILCAR, and afterwards of MAGO. Unhappy fate of the city of Rhegium.

) DIONYSIUS seeing his great preparations were complete, and that he was in a condition to take the field, he publicly opened his design to the Syracusans, in order to restrain them the more in the success of the enterprize, and to inform them that it was against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately wasted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to so cruel a power, waited only the signal to declare against it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuse to reinstate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after they had so long groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only benefited them in doing so for some time; since as soon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

The assembly were unanimously of the same opinion. Their ancient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger against

against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the that with arms in their hands they might find some occas recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. war was resolved without any opposition, and began that instant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties under the peace, exercised traffick, and thought themselves security. The populace, by Dionysius's authority, upon breaking up of the assembly, ran to their houses and plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They with the same treatment throughout Sicily; to which murder and massacres were added, by way of reprisal for the cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon those they quered, and to shew them what they had to expect, if continued to make war with the same inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by Herald to Carthage, in which he signified, that the Syracuse declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter at first in the senate, afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a pious condition. However, they were not dismayed, prepared for a vigorous defence. They raised troops with utmost diligence, and Imilcar set out immediately to put himself at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius on his side lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to six score thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with provisions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortified town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league (*m*) from the continent, to which was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius having left the care of the siege to Leptinus, commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they all surrendered exceptive, which were Ancyra, Salona, (*n*) Palermo, Segesta, Entella. The last two places he besieged.

Imi

(*m*) Six stadia or four leagues.

(*n*) Panormus.

Imilcar however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprize in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without resistance, and after having sunk a great part of the vessels, which he found there, retired well satisfied with the success of his enterprize.

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya, and having employed a great number of hands in making dams and moles, he reinstated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that side. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had passed the breach, and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was spared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the soldiers discretion; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his service by the allurements and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raised an army of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command consisted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred vessels laden with provisions and engines of war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at sea. He had taken this precaution, that his designs might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from sending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their passage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and soon after reduced Motya to surrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius, seeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the slaves their liberty, that they might serve on board

the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and his fleet to an hundred and e gallies. With these forces he took the field, and removed : eighteen leagues from Syracuse. Imilcar advanced perpet with his land-army, followed by his fleet, that kept near coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue march upon the sea-side, and was obliged to take a long, pass round mount Ætna, which by a new irruption had s country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. H dered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dion apprized of this, thought the opportunity favourable fo tacking it, whilst separate from the land-forces, and whi own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of s to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wisely corted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptinus hi miral, having advanced inconsiderately with thirty gallies, trary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly re mended to him not to divide his forces, at first sunk sever the enemy's ships, but upon being surrounded by the g number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed hi ample, and was warmly pursued by the Carthaginians. l detached boats full of soldiers, with orders to kill all the deavoured to save themselves by swimming to shore. The army drawn up there, saw them perish miserably without l able to give them any assistance. The loss on the side c Sicilians was very great; more than an hundred gallies either taken or sunk, and twenty thousand men perishing i in the battle, or the pursuit.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves u Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilcar, whom so an enterprize might disconcert; besides which, they f find his troops fatigued with their long and hasty march. proposal pleased him at first; but upon reflecting, that l with the victorious fleet, might notwithstanding advance take Syracuse, he thought it more adviseable to return thi which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his tr who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a n of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some da refresh his army, and refit his fleet, which had suffered ex ingly by a violent storm.

(c) He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet the port in triumph. More than two hundred gallies, add with the spoils of their victory, made a noble appearance

they advanced ; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller barks ; so that the port, vast as it was, was scarce capable of containing them ; the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time on the other side appeared the land-army, composed, as has been said, of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Imilcar pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's (p) distance from the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm which such a prospect must give the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls to offer the city battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining * ports by a detachment of an hundred gallies. As he saw no motion on the side of the Syracusans, he retired contented for that time with the enemy's confessing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina. Foreseeing that the siege would be of long duration, he intrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs, and amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at some distance from each other ; the first at Pern-myra ; the second towards the middle of the port ; the third near the temple of Jupiter ; for the security of his magazines of corn and wine. He sent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.

At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had dispatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five gallies and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, to which they advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle carried the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a second time, which the Carthaginians, discouraged

discouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracusans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, it could be only ascribed to their valour; for Dionysius was absent with a small detachment of the fleet to procure provisions, attended by Leptinus; they encouraged each other, seeing they did not want arms, they reproached them with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and restoring their ancient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses, divided in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to their miseries, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to close the assembly, when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are tired," said he, "of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. What signifies success, if we are still in the power of Dionysius? Can we have peace in the present state of slavery imposed upon us? Have we any enemy to be dreaded than the tyrant who subverts our liberties, and makes a war more cruel than that he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilcar conquer, so he contents himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leaves us the exercise of our laws: The tyrant that enslaves us, knows no other business but his avarice, his cruelty, his ambition! The temples of our gods, robbed by his sacrilegious hands, our goods made his prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments, our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treat-

ner cities in our alliance, who hold it their glory to be free and independent, would deem us unworthy of the Greek name if we had any other sentiments. Let us shew that we do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to retire from amongst us, let us open him our gates, and let him take along with him whatever he pleases: But he persists in the tyranny, let him experience what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave and determinate."

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspense betwixt love and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their army, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: But he did quite the reverse, and told them, that his republick had sent him to the aid of the Syracusans and Dionysius, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracusans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius perceiving more than what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interest; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

It must have been about this time, that Polyxenus, Dionysius's brother-in-law, who had married his sister Thesta, without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, and came from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her very much for not apprizing him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprize or fear, "O that I then appeared so bad a wife to you, and of so mean a soul, as to have abandoned my husband in his flight, and not to have desired to share in his dangers and misfortunes? I knew nothing of it; or I should have been much happier in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, in any other places, than, in Syracuse, the sister of the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and modesty; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was suppressed, the honours, equipage, and train of a queen, which she had enjoyed, were continued to her during her life; and after her death the whole people attended her body to the tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in taking the advantage of the consternation, which the sight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. A plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demolishing of cities, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time, and had described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the conduct of the Carthaginians (r). To add to that misfortune, the Syracusans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprise, terror, and even haste they were in, to put themselves in a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief; all were equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, crowded to the walls, to be witnesses of that scene of blood and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilear, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly a hundred thousand crowns (s) for permission to retire that night with the remains of his army and fleet. The king, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginian without resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave him his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon this Imilear set out with the Carthaginians, and only forty vessels, leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, covering from the noise and motion of the galleys, that he was making off, sent to inform Dionysius of his flight, affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to him: But as those orders were but slowly executed, they allowed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear-guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before his arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retaken their several countries. Having first posted troops in the way, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was quite day. The Barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly deceived and betrayed by Imilear and the Sicilians, lost courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the

(r) Tom. I. p. 147.

(s) *see above*

aid down their arms and asked quarter. Only the Ibe-
ew up, and sent an herald to capitulate with Dionysius,
corporated them into his guards. The rest were all
isoners.

was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shews, says
orian (r), that humiliation treads upon the heels of
and that those, who are too much puffed up with power
cess, are soon forced to confess their weakness and

Those haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily,
oked upon Syracuse as already their own, and entered
riumphant into the great port, insulting the citizens,
v reduced to fly shamefully under the covert of the
dragging away with them the sad ruins, and miserable
of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of
ative country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the
efuge of temples, nor the inviolable sanctity of tombs,
ving left one hundred and fifty thousand men unburied
nemy's country, returns to perish miserably at Carthage,
g upon himself by his death the contempt he had ex-
for gods and men.

ysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his service,
d ten thousand of them, and, under the pretence of re-
g their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which
reality very commodiously situated, and an advantageous
ent. He confided the guard of his person to other fo-
s, and the slaves he had made free. He made several
ts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring coun-
pecially against Rhegium (u). The people of Italy,
themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance
a stop to his conquests. The success was tolerably equal
a sides.

About this time, the Gauls, who some months before
rnt Rome, sent deputies to Dionysius to make an alliance
m, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had
d of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians
, obliged him to return to Sicily.

Carthaginians, having set on foot a numerous army
he conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse,
th no better success than the former. They terminated
accommodation with Dionysius.

e attacked Rhegium again, and at first received no incon-
le check. But having gained a great victory against the
of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand
prisoners,

iod. Sic. (u) Diod. l. xiv, p. 304, 310. (x) Justin, l. xx, c. 5.
3651, Ant. J. C. 389.

prisoners, he dismissed them all without ransom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of dissolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his designs. Having by this action of favour and generosity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city upon account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the insolent answer, with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, finding themselves incapable of resisting so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by assault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thousand crowns, deliver up all their vessels to the number of seventy, and put an hundred hostages into his hands; after which he raised the siege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty he besieged them again with all his forces, first sending back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of the greatest cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and rude sallies. In one of them Dionysius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat (of about six bushels) was sold for two hundred and fifty livres (z). After having consumed all their horses and beasts of carriage, they were obliged to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beasts; a resource, of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion, and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay fifty livres (a) he dismissed, and sold the rest for slaves.

Dionysius

(z) Five *mina*,

(a) One *mine*,

Dionysius let fall the whole weight of his resentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his son to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition, he sent to tell him that his son had been thrown into the sea. "Then he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to suffer a thousand other indignities, whilst an herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for having inspired the people of Rhegium with rebellion." "Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that a faithful citizen is so used, for having refused to sacrifice his country to a tyrant." Such an object and such a discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the sea directly.

SECT. IV. *Violent passion of DIONYSIUS for poetry. Reflections upon that taste of the tyrant. Generous freedom of PHILOXENUS. Death of DIONYSIUS. His bad qualities.*

(b) **A**T an interval which the success against Rhegium had left Dionysius, the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumstance, which I am going to treat, and which regards the taste or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristics, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, for a right understanding of it, to distinguish, wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I shall say as much upon the tyrant's total character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise: I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: The mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister

Thesta

Thells upon account of her husband's flight, his graceful insinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the culans, the familiarity of his discourse with the meanest men and even workmen, the equality he observed between wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all imply that Dionysius had more equity, moderation, affability and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Phœnix, Caligula, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry. In his hours of leisure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of wit, and in the study of arts and sciences. He was peculiarly fond of versifying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. That for the first of his may be excused, having something uncommonly laudable in it; I mean in the taste for polite learning, esteem he expressed for learned men, his inclination to good offices, and the application of his leisure hours.

not better to employ them in the exercise of his wit's cultivation of science, than feasting, dancing, theatricals, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures more pernicious. Which wise reflection Dionysius the 3^d made when at Corinth. (c) Philip of Macedon being with him, spoke of the odes and tragedies his father left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and he was under some difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leisure for such compositions: Dionysius smilingly replied, *The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he composed at those hours, which you and I, and an infinity of others, have reason to believe, pass in drinking and other dissipation.*

(d) Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus applied themselves to poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus is reported to have wrote the memoirs of his military actions in the comedies of Terence were attributed to Lælius and both great captains, especially the latter; and that so far from lessening their reputation at Rome, that it was the general esteem for them.

These unbecomings therefore were not blameable in the nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept due bounds; but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretend to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a loss or competition in any thing. From being in the habit of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to a

(c) Plut. in Timol. p. 243. & 244. Plut. in Luc. ch. p. 454. (d) Luc. Cat. c. 18. in August.

his wit of the same rank with his power: In a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit flowed in some measure from the over-bearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those, who knew how to recommend themselves by his darling foible, were another source of this vain conceit. And of what will not a great man, a minister, a prince, think himself capable, who has such incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richelieu, in the midst of the greatest affairs, not only composed dramatick poems, but piqued himself on his excellency that way; and what is more, his jealousy in that point rose so high as to use his authority by way of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom the publick, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, which though estimable in themselves, and which do honour to private persons, it does not become a prince to desire to excel in. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son upon his having shewn too much skill in musick at a publick entertainment: *Are not you ashamed, said he, to sing so well?* It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his character. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been *ridiculous*, but a *reproach* to them. And the reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensable duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government; and having an infinitude of various business always recurring to him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit any great progress in them, and the excelling of those who employ themselves in no other study. Hence, when the publick sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment, which wastes his time and application of mind ineffectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

(e) I have already said, that this prince, in an interval of peace,

(e) Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.
 * ——— Nihil est quod credere de se
 Non possit, cum laudatur diis æqua potestas.

peace, had sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race in his name. he arrived in the assembly, the beauty as well as number of chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embellished with gold and silver, attracted the eyes and admiration of the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when that of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly the occasion to read with sonorous, musical voices, who were heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give emphasis and numerosity to the verses they repeated. this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation that charm was soon at an end, and the mind not long by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their force. The audience were ashamed of having applauded their praise was turned into laughter, scorn, and insult. To express their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionysius's pavilion in pieces. Lysias, the celebrated orator, who came to the Olympick games to dispute the prize of oratory, which he had carried several times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of the friend and assertor of liberty, to admit an impious man to share in the celebration of the sacred games, who had other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his tyranny. Dionysius was not affronted in that manner then; but proved as little in his favour. His chariots having the lists, were all of them either carried out of the course by an headlong impetuosity, or dashed in pieces against another. And to complete the misfortune, the galley which he had sent to the games, was taken by a violent storm, and did not return to Syracuse without difficulty; when the pilots arrived there, out of their contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city that it was his vile poems, which had occasioned so many misfortunes to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor did it abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetick vein. His flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later the envious themselves would be convinced by demonstration, to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

* These readers were called *Prophetae*.

(f) The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who sat at his table in great numbers, seemed to be in an extasy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was there any comparison: All was great, all noble in his poetry: All was majestick, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe, who did not run with the stream into excessive praise and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambick poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and an huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked his meaning by that pleasantry: "I was enquiring," said he, "into some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but this young native of the floods can give me no information; yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having prest him to give him his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the mines; the common ail being so called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and solicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and chearful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be master-pieces, as was very discernable from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect

perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thought of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning toward the guards, who always stood round the table, he said in serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion; *Come back to the mines.* * The prince took all the salt and of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which another time would have touched him to the quick, and rendered him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the same temper upon a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that the best of which the statues of † Hermodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression (g), if it may be called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who converse with princes must speak their language; that they hate to say any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court; that favours and liberalities, which Dionysius continually bestows upon them, well deserved the return of complaisance; that in a word, with his blunt freedom, and plain truth, he was in danger of losing not only his fortune, but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give such a turn to his answers, as should satisfy Dionysius without injuring truth.

Accordingly some time after, Dionysius having read a play of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and desired him his sentiments upon it. Philoxenus gave him for answer (h) one word, which in the Greek language has two different significations. In one of them it implies mournful, mo-
thi

(g) Plut., Moral. p. 78, & 833. (h) Οἰκτρός.

* Τὸτε μὲν δὴ τῶν εὐτραπέλειαν τῶν λόγων μετῴκων ὁ Διονύσιος, ἤκουε τὴν ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνέκρινεν.

† They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

ings, such as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion : In other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful or miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and loved that every body must have the same good opinion of him, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely satisfied with Philoxenus. The rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right sense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for versification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus (i), that having sent his poems a second time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned soon after into a kind of madness and phrenzy. He complained that envy and jealousy, certain enemies of true merit, were always at variance with him, and that all the world conspired to the ruin of his station. He accused his best friends with the same design ; some of whom he put to death, and others he banished ; amongst them were Leptinus his brother, and Philistus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was obliged for his recovery. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and reinstated in all their fortunes and his favour : Leptinus in particular, who married Dionysius's daughter.

(k) To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment, with which wars and buildings supplied him. He had formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in the part of Italy, situate on the Adriatick sea facing Epirus ; in order that his fleet might not want a secure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that side ; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes king of the Molossians to his throne. His principal design was to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could set this project on foot, which required great preparations, he seemed to make an essay of his genius for it, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tuscany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a sum exceeding four millions five hundred thousand

(i) Pag. 332.

(k) Diod. l. xv. p. 336, 337.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of *Æscu Epidaurus* to be taken off; giving for his reason, the very inconsistent for the son to have a beard *, when it had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of temples; and as there was generally inscribed upon them in to the custom of the Greeks, 'To the good Gods would (he said) take the benefit of their goodness.'

As for less prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold the statues held in their hands, those he carried off with ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but receiving and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetual good things, and to refuse them, when they held out hands themselves to present them to you. These were carried by his order to the market, and sold at the public And when he had got the money for them, he ordered a clamor to be made, that whoever had in their custody things taken out of sacred places, should restore them within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the injustice to man.

The amazing precautions that *Dionysius* thought fit to the security of his life, shew to what anxiety and agitation he was abandoned. (q) He wore under his robe a coat of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower; and thought proper to make himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in his friends or relations, his guard was composed of strangers. He went abroad as little as possible; fear constrained him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. His extraordinary precautions regard without doubt certainly the safety of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have seen that he conversed freely enough with the people and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark times of distrust and fear, he fancied, that he saw all mankind conspiring against him. (r) A word which escaped his barber, who by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to expose his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his attendants, though very young, do him that despicable office. When they were more advanced in years, he took the scissors and razors from them, and taught them to singe off his

(q) *Cic. Tule. Quest. l. v. n. 57, 63.*

* *Æscu's statue had no beard.*

(r) *Plut. de Garul. l. 1.*

nut-shells. (s) He was at last reduced to do himself that not daring it seems to trust his own daughters any longer. ever went into the chamber of his wives at night, till had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep mat, with a small draw-bridge over it for the entrance, having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. Neither his brother, nor even his sons, could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their cloaths, and being examined by the guards. Is passing one's days in such a continual state of distrust and terror, to live, to reign! In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and promises, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid flatterers, and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, the charms of social truth and reciprocal confidence. This he envied himself upon an occasion not unworthy of repetition.

Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his security. The tyrant, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure: lay fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himself in such a manner. But Damon, without expressing any fear or concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expressions, that he was assured his friend would return; as he accordingly did the day and hour agreed. The tyrant struck with admiration at so uncommon an instance of fidelity, and softened in the view of so amiable an union, granted him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third person into their friendship.

L. IV.

H

He

Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 55. (r) Plut. in Dion. p. 961. (u) Cic. de Offic. l. iii. n. 43. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

(*) He expressed with equal ingenuity on another what he thought of his condition. One of his e named Damocles, was perpetually extolling with rap treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the c his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and verval abundance of all good things and enjoyments in fession; always repeating that never man was happi Dionysius. "Because you are of that opinion," said rant to him one day, "will you taste, and make proo " felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with jo mocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with ca inestimable value. The side-boards were loaded wit of gold and silver. The most beautiful slaves in the mo did habits stood around, watching the least signal to fei The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been The table was spread with proportionate magnificenc mocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the man in the world; when unfortunately casting up his beheld over his head the point of a sword, which hu the roof only by a single horse-hair. He was imman seized with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any th his danger. In the height of his fear he desired perm retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. natural image of the life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, a observed before, thirty-eight years.

C H A P. II.

THIS chapter includes the history of Dionysius the y tyrant of Syracuse, son of the former; and that c his near relation.

SECT. I. *DIONYSIUS the younger succeeds his father. engages him to invite PLATO to his court. Surprising a occasioned by his presence. Conspiracy of the courtiers to the effects of it.*

(†) **D**IONYSIUS the elder was succeeded by one sons of his own name, commonly called Di the younger. After his father's funeral had been sole with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the peop

(*) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 61, 62. (†) A. M. 3632. A 372. Diod. l. xv. p. 385.

desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had professed for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. (x) For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition, as the former was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It was surprizing to see Dionysius the younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of all those advantages: And at the same time the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most favourable hopes of the future. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.

England has seen something of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as the most lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him, and was for some time in equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

(a) Dion, the bravest, and at the same time the wisest of the Syracusans, Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to make use of his counsels. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as shewed that the rest were like infants in comparison with him, and in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than obsequious slaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprized and

H 2

amazed

Dion. l. xvi. p. 410.

(a) *Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.*

amazed them most was that Dion, at a time when the court were struck with terror at the prospect of the forming on the side of Carthage, and just ready to break Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius desired peace, he embark immediately for Africa, and dispel this tempest of satisfaction; or if he preferred the war, that he would fit and maintain him fifty galleys of three benches each, equipped for service.

Dionysius admiring and extolling his generous magnanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his friendship and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon his magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his greatness as a lessening of their own, took immediate occasion thence to calumniate him, and spared no discourse that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to tyranny; and that he designed to transport the sovereign board his vessels to his nephews, the sons of Aristomachus.

But what put them most out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. These courtiers having presently insinuated themselves, as the ascendant of the young tyrant, who had been well educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in idleness, abandoned to women and all manner of shameful pleasures. (b) In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch which continued for three months entire, during all which his palace, shut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and resounded with nothing but buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masques, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who was devoted to none of these pleasures. For which reason, painters and poets, in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advised any wise counsel, they treated him as a sour pedagogue; if he took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his subjects without being asked; and if he refused to share in the debauch with the rest, they called him a man-hater, a splenetic melancholy wretch, who from the fantastick height of virtue

(b) Athen. l. x. p. 435.

own with contempt on the rest of the world, of whom he set himself up for the censor.

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally something austere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which seemed to argue an haughtiness of nature, very capable not only of disgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidst flatteries and submissions, but the best of his friends, and those who were most nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different tempers of men, and how to apply them to his purposes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding. (c) Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was very proper to inspire him with more easy and insinuating manners. He observes also upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he speaks to this effect: "Consider, I beg you, that you are censured of being deficient in point of good nature and affability; and be entirely assured, that the most certain means to the success of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons with whom we have to transact. An * haughty carriage keeps people at a distance, and reduces a man to pass his life in solitude." Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly considered at court; where his superior abilities and transcendent merit made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and emergency.

(d) As he believed, that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived justly, that the best remedy would be to associate him if possible with persons of wit and sense, whose blid, but agreeable conversation, might at once instruct and divert him: For the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The sequel will shew that Dionysius the younger had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to set a value upon the merit and talents, by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with persons of ability, and from

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his

(c) Plat. Epist. iv.

(d) Plut. in Dion. p. 962 Plat. Epist. vii.

p. 327, 328.

* *ἡ δὲ ἀναιμία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀναιμία*. M. Dacier renders these words; Pride is always the companion of solitude. I

have shewn elsewhere, wherein this version is faulty. Art of teaching the Belles Lettres, Vol. III. p. 505.

his correspondence with them, made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarize the throne with the sciences, which of themselves have little or no access to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility by which he raised the low to honour and distinction. Nor was he insensible to the joys of friendship. In private he was a good parent, relation as well as master, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and might be said of him, that he was rather a tyrant by success and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince (not to say a good one) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom a merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find a person of the character before-mentioned, or rather to inspire himself with the desire of having such an one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of the world most capable of forming him in the arts of governing upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him, that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice which force and violence extorted from them against their will and that by such a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, enflamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner to that purpose; he dispatched courier

her couriers to hasten his voyage; whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had small hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not resolve upon, without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties, made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgusting him, that they only served, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Græcia major in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his instances, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," said he, "the concern of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whose change of manners will have the same effect throughout his whole dominions, with the extent of which you are not unacquainted. It is himself who makes all these advances; who importunes and solicits you to come to his assistance, and employs the interest of all your friends to that purpose. What more favourable conjuncture could we expect from the divine providence than that which now offers itself? Are you not afraid that your delays will give the flatterers, who surround the young prince, the opportunity of drawing him over to themselves, and of seducing him to change his resolution? What reproaches would you not make yourself, and what dishonour would it not be to philosophy, should it ever be said, that Plato, whose counsels to Dionysius might have established a wise and equitable government in Sicily, abandoned it to all the evils of tyranny, rather than undergo the fatigues of a voyage, or from I know not what other imaginary difficulties?"

(c) Plato could not resist solicitations of so much force. Vanquished by the consideration of his own character, and to evade the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without ever having shewn himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution he had taken contrary to their remonstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, of which they foresaw the consequences, united together against him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no favour to be expected from the prince, but for the services done the state, they had nothing further to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner

of purpose. They therefore spared no pains to render voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recall Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able soldier, but a great and very eloquent and learned, and a zealous assertor of the truth. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato's philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius through some personal discontent, he retired into the city of Syracuse where it was believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. (f) He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant all which works are entirely lost. Cicero praises * him and calls him Thucydides the less, *pene pusillus Thucydides*, signify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Androdotus and Heraclides, the secret enemies of that prince's measures for subverting the tyranny.

(g) This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Syracuse. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he was one of the prince's chariots equally magnificent in its equipage and ornaments attending upon him. The tyrant offered him a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had fallen him; nor was he mistaken, for a wise man, and capable of giving a prince good counsel, is a treasure of estimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to that which might be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in Dionysius, who applied himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precept and example of Socrates his master, the most exquisite philosopher of the pagan world, in forming the mind for a right taste of truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by his insinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to appear virtuous and amiable, and at the same time triumphant over vice.

(f) Died. l. xiii. p. 222.

* Hunc (Thucydidem) consecutus est Syracusius Philistus, qui cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximèque Thucydidem

(g) Plut. in Dion. p. 963

est, sicut est mihi videtur, i Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 57.

Siculus ille creber, acutus pene pusillus Thucydides, l. xiii. ad 24. frat. l. ii.

seeps mankind in its chains, by the sole force of allurements, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was sudden and surprizing. The young prince, who had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life, awaking as from lethargick sleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasure of conversation equally solid and agreeable. He was now as affectionately fond of learning and instruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always presses the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like so many schools of geometry, were full of the just made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study of philosophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and universal taste.

The great benefit of these studies in regard to a prince, does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary notions of things, but as the farther advantage of abstracting himself from idleness, idleness, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a passion to inform himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and to know the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to say, to be indeed a king; but that the courtiers and flatterers are almost always unanimous in opposing.

They were considerably alarmed by a word that escaped Dionysius, and shewed how much he was affected with the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniversary, at which a solemn sacrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to custom, *That it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant*: Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom these terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, *Will you not give over cursing me?* Philistus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an

invincible ascendant over Dionysius, if the corresponden a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves at work upon new and more effectual tagems against him.

They begun by turning the retired life which Dionysius with Plato, and the studies in which he employed himself, ridicule, as if intended to make a philosopher of him. that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They represented them as * impertinent censors and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which no consisted with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court, that had long been infected where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a crowd of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to the character and conduct of Dion himself; not separately nor in the method of whisper, but all together, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them hearing, that it was visible, Dion made use of Plato's consequence, to insinuate and enchant Dionysius, with design to draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children Aristomachus, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great force both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by suading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers of his guard to lay aside his fleet of four hundred galleys, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the academy (the place where Plato taught) a pretended supreme good not explicable, and to make himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry, whilst he aband

* Tristes & superciliosos alienæ vitæ censes, publicos pedagogos. Sen. Epist. lxxiii.
† Vix artibus honestis pueros retineatur, nedum inter certamina rum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quam probi moris servaretur. Annal. l. vi. c. 15.

to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

SECT. II. *Banishment of DION. PLATO quits the court soon after, and returns into Greece. DION admired by all the learned. PLATO returns to Syracuse.*

THE courtiers, intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, perpetually besieged the young prince, and covering their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent suspicions of Dion, which presently increased into fierce resentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them, *that when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making their treaty more firm and lasting.* Dionysius read these letters to Philistus, and having concerted with him what measures to take, (b) he amused Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the sea-side below the citadel, where he shewed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself, but he refused to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.

(i) So hard and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. (k) Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the publick discontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him in Peloponnesus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As soon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiously. For

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charmed

(b) *Diod. l. xvi. p. 410, 411.*

(i) *Plut. p. 564.*

(k) *Plat. Ep. vii.*

charmed with the delights of his conversation, and studious of pleasing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousy, but a jealousy of that violence, that could suffer neither companion nor rival. He was for engrossing him entirely to himself, for reigning solely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed content to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a *tyrannick affection* (1). Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent jealousy. * Sometimes it was all friendship, caresses, and fond respect, with an unbounded effusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments: Sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion; and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and send him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with presents, but Plato refused them, contenting himself with his promise to recall Dion the following spring: He did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenues, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time prefixed, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, in his return to Greece, went to see the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He eat and passed whole days with them, behaving himself in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed with having met with so kind and amiable a companion; but as he never talked of any thing out of common conversation, they had not the least notion, that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided

(1) Ἰδὲ αὐτὸν τυραννικὴν ἔρωτα.

* In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; suspiciones, inimicitiae, injurie, induciæ, bellum, pax rursum. Terent. in Eunuch. In amore hæc sunt mala, bellum, pax rursum. Horat.

provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprized at their having possessed so inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty he had thrown over it, whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

(m) The time Dion passed at Athens was not lost. He employed it chiefly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his passion. * He knew however, which is not very easy, to confine it within its just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the same time Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who, uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character, very rarely found amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men to soften what was too rough and austere in the humour of Dion.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the publick games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was studious of all occasions of producing him to the publick, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, as his magnificence might make him still better beloved and esteemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, where he was present at all their feasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits, and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the loftiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and especially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All cities paid him the highest honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, though
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(m) Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

* Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum. Tacit. in vit. Agric. l. 4.

he actually assisted them at that time with a powerful supply, their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be retained by his own officers.

(*) After Dionysius had put an end to the war he was waging in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstances, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent assemblies, in which, out of foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, the maxims of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those maxims only by rote, and his heart had never been really affected with them, the source of his eloquence was soon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom once in his possession and under his own roof, and by not having listened in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dion was suddenly seized with an excessive desire of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him, that he might return with all manner of security to be bound for the performance of all the promises which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three hundred rowers, with several of his friends on board, to intreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely dispose of every thing in his power.

Dion received several letters at the same time from his wife and sister, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretences against him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm solicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves, that his wisdom would at length overthrow

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(*) Plat. Epist. vii. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964, 966

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER. 159

ly, and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He ap-
 d the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most
 rable in the palace, and had so much confidence in him,
 e suffered his access to him at all hours, without being
 ed ; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

er the first caresses were over, Plato was for entering into
 : affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the
 pal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at
 to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though
 itwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great
 o conceal his sentiments upon that head, endeavouring
 manner of honours, and by all possible regard and com-
 icy, to abate his friendship for Dion. Plato disssembled
 side, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a
 of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

ilst they were upon these terms, and believed that no
 penetrated their secret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of
 s particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there
 be an eclipse of the sun ; which happening according to
 ediction exactly at the hour, Dionysius was so much sur-
 and astonished at it (a proof that he was no great phi-
 er) that he made him a present of a * talent. Aristippus
 upon that occasion, said, that he had also something
 incredible and extraordinary to foretell. Upon being
 l to explain himself, " I prophesy," said he, " that it
 l not be long before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to
 ce so well with each other, will be enemies."

nysius verified this prediction ; for being weary of the
 aint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's lands
 fects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. At
 ne time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden,
 ave him another lodging without the castle in the midst
 guards, who had long hated him, and would have been
 of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised
 us to renounce the tyranny, to break them, and to live
 ut any other guard but the love of his people. Plato was
 le, that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who re-
 ed the fury of his guard.

chitas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was
 rincipal person, and supreme magistrate of Tarentum,
 o sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he sent am-
 lors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dio-
 , and to remind him, that he came to Syracuse only upon
 omise, and that of all the Pythagorean philosophers, who
 had

passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and just reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle tattle, fri-
amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to
thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Glu-
drunkenness, and debauchery, resumed their empire
court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, wh
had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

SECT. III. *DION sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden an-
tunate success of his enterprize. Horrid ingratitude of Sy-
racusans. Unparalleled goodness of DION to them and to
cruel enemies. His death.*

(p) **W**HEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius th
all reserve, and married his sister Arete, l
wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a
ment was, in a manner, the signal of the war. From
moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open
and to revenge himself for all the wrongs he had done
Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution
finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfo
he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must
neither assistance nor relief from him; that as he had be
guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his p
and joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should

ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his dence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This the universal cry; whilst they importuned and conjured on to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the accusans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hesitate any longer upon taking that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had in his banishment the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person, who like him had contracted a taste for delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; living in a manner peculiar to himself by the greatness of his genius, and the solidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to see and converse with the most eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the best politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving, wherever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from so happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long languished.

No enterprize perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. It was what is very surprizing, of all those the tyrant had banished, and who were not less than a thousand, only twenty were accompanied him in this expedition; so much had fear taken possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of about eight hundred; but all of them courage-proved on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and valiant; and in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them in the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprize required.

But when they were to set forwards, and it was known this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius till then it had not been declared, they were all in a confusion, and repented their having engaged in the enterprise which they could not but conceive as the effect of extremeness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting everything to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for resolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops, and their fears. But after he had spoke to them, and was assured though in a modest tone, had made them understand he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as citizens, to put them at the head of the Syracusans, and the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a deliverance, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy. They desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops completely armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. Afterwards he gave a great feast to the whole company, at the close of which, after the libation and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, assured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon account. The next day they embarked on board two triremes, which were followed by a third not so large, and two barks of thirty oars.

(r) Who could have imagined, says an historian, that with two merchant-vessels should ever dare to attack a power who had four hundred ships of war, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and sustain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with

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aining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and more insoluble ties.

s) Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops, twelve days under sail with little wind, and the thirteenth ved at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen ues from Syracuse. When they came up with that place, pilot gave notice that they must land directly, that there reason to fear an hurricane, and therefore not proper to to sea. But Dion, who apprehended making his descent near the enemy, and chose to land further off, doubled the e of Pacynus, which he had no sooner passed, than a ous storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lighen-, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where y were in great danger of dashing to pieces against the ks. Happily for them a south wind rising suddenly, con- ry to expectation, they unfurled all their sails, and after ing made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. ey ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily under the Carthagi- ns; whose commander Synalus was Dion's particular friend l guest. They were perfectly well received, and would have id there some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fa- ues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been ormed that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some n before for the coast of Italy, attended by fourscore vessels. e soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy, l Dion, having desired Synalus to send his baggage after a, when proper, marched directly to Syracuse.

His troops increased considerably upon his rout, by the great mber of those who came to join him from all parts. The v of his arrival being soon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, o had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, to whom had left the command of the city in his absence, dispatched ourier to him in Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But t courier, being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued: h having run the best part of the night, that he found him- under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of at, which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran y with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had also t his dispatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for

Some

some time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a sacrifice upon the river side, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of his sacrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, and accompanied with one and the same spirit. He had been joined in his march by at least five thousand men, and advanced them towards the city. The most considerable of the citizens came out in white habits to receive him at the gate. At the same time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, upon the spies and informers, an accursed race of wretches, ** ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN*, says Plutarch, who made it the business of their lives, to disperse themselves in all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with staves immediately. Timocrates, not a coward, throw himself into the citadel, rode off on horseback.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls, and marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, followed by his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. Behind him came an hundred of the foreign soldiers, fine troops, which he had chosen for his guard. The rest followed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Sicilians beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves rewarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty and democracy, forty-eight years after they had been banished.

addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service, any gift, so valuable, as that of liberty! Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, stood a sun-dial upon an high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it, and in a speech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he said, and to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captain-generals with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who had been banished by Dionysius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epîpolis, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Syaculus. These he distributed amongst the citizens who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and satisfaction.

Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans with proposals, which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracusans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly having made the deputies, who were sent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall, with which the Syracusans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an assault, put Dion's soldiers into great confusion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them, and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his arms were scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His soldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left

left Timonides to command them, and getting on horseback rode through the whole city, stopp'd the flight of the Syracusans and taking the foreign soldiers, whom he had left in a quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle, but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the spot, and the rest driven with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was signal and glorious. The Syracusans, to reward the valour of the soldiers, gave each of them a considerable sum of money; those soldiers, to honour Dion, presented him with a cross of gold.

Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in an assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification, intermixed however with the terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion, his sister, wife, and son. It was wrote with an art and an exceedingly proper to render Dion suspected. Dionysius, to bring him in mind of the ardour and zeal, he had formerly expressed for the support of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a distance and with some obscurity, though easy enough to be understood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself. He advises him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him at heart; nor to abandon his own father and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

(1) The reading of this letter had the effect Dionysius proposed from it. The Syracusans, without regard to their goodness to them, and the greatness of his soul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceiv'd injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their sentiments, and determined them to march accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a great soldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a secret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himself there had been some difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syracuse with seven galleys of three benches of oars and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but in the resolution to march with his own forces against the tyrant, whom

ced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first was to ingratiate himself with the people; for which his insinuating behaviour made him very fit, whilst his gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as he became more haughty and untractable from the people, and expected to be treated like a popular state, they could call themselves a free people; that is to say, in full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being complaisance, flattery, regard, and a deference to the popular humours.

attitude could be expected from a people, that control their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusan assembly immediately upon their own accord, and elected admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, grieved highly of such a proceeding; as the charge upon Heraclides, was an abridgment of his office; no longer generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. Remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their private Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred on him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct, and to him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the ruin amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and, in the presence of the people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a new flag himself.

ght by the force of kind offices to get the better of
al-will, who, in his expressions and outward beha-
his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to
beyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality,
essed an entire devotion to his service, and a desire
s to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his in-
cabals, he influenced the people against him, and
s designs in every thing. If Dion gave his consent
sius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused
g, and intending to save him : If, to satisfy them,
ed the siege without hearkening to any proposals of
ation, they did not fail to reproach him with the
protracting the war, for the sake of continuing in
and to keep the citizens in awe and respect.

who came to the tyrant's relief with several galleys, he defeated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to last for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty

to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected those proposals; and Dionysius, despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind*, embarked for Italy with his treasures and effects of the greatest value, and such of his friends as were dearest to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the galleys, was very much blamed for having suffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, insinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, so poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men, to declare a new division of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves in good time from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusans agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the same time they sent privately to solicit the foreign soldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as natives and citizens. Those generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the center of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracusans, who contemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat, and put them all to the sword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the necessity of either fighting the citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising great cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter were dismayed with appearances, and ran away in every street without being

sed. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror, and taking to their heels in a more shameful manner than before, made all the haste they could to regain the city.

(y) The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his soldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which they sent ambassadors to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops to the Syracusans, who on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender it. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his galleys, and anchored near Arethusa. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans at the same time hastened on board their galleys, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader or authority to command them or counsel, the officers as well as soldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nypsius knew well how to take advantage of this general insatiation. He attacked the

and preserve the city. This was in every body's thought
no one had courage enough to propose it; so much as
were they of the generous manner in which they had
behaved. As the danger increased every moment, and
approached the quarter Acraëstia, in the height of its
frenzy and despair, a voice was heard from the host
allies, which said, That it was absolutely necessary to recall
and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of the Lacedæ-
mon as any body had courage enough to utter these
they were the general cry of the Syracusans, who with a
joy and grief made prayers to the gods, that they would
him back to them. The hope alone of seeing him again
them new courage, and enabled them to make head again
enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full powers
arrived at the city of Lacedæmon late in the evening.

As soon as they alighted, they threw themselves at
feet, bathed in their tears, and related the copious
manner in which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of
certain, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who
seen them alive, were already got round him, and cry-
ing, from their emotion and prostrate behaviour, that
thing very extraordinary had happened. When he had so
heard what they had to say, then he called them with
the assembly, which formed itself immediately for the
and thence into abundance of counsels. The counsels

like to them in these terms: "Men of Peloponnesus, and you our allies, I have assembled you here, that you might deliberate upon what regards yourselves; as for my part, I must not deliberate upon any thing when Syracuse is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish with it, and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, if you are resolved to assist us once more; us, who are the most imprudent and most unfortunate of mankind; come and relieve the city of Syracuse, from henceforth the work of your hands. If not, and the just subjects of complaint, which you have against the Syracusans, determine you to abandon them in their present condition, and to suffer them to perish; may you receive from the immortal gods, the reward you merit for the affection and fidelity which you have hitherto expressed for me. For the rest, I have only to desire, that you will keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his country, nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes."

He had no sooner ceased speaking, when the foreign soldiers rose up with loud cries, and intreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to show upon Dion and them all kind of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to set out the same night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuse, the officers of Dionysius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers. His short respite gave the seditious orators new courage, who flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, exhorted the Syracusans to think no further of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly dispatched from the general officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments, and contrariety of advices, occasioned his marching slowly, and by small journies.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant, Dionysius, well apprized of all that passed at Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more deter-

determinate than before. They demolished the wall that closed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but slaughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did they stop for the pillage, but seemed to have no view, than to ruin and destroy all before them. One who had thought, the son of Dionysius, whom his father had in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by excess of hatred for the Syracusans, was determined to put an end to the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's doing it, they had recourse to fire, the swiftest of destructive burning, with torches and lighted straw, all places within their power, and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans, who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets, and those, who to shun the all-murdering sword ran into the houses, were driven out of them again by the croaching fire; for there were abundance of houses burnt, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were dispatched to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, put up his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus conjured him to advance with the utmost speed, there being no body besides himself to make head against the enemy being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined and reduced to ashes.

Dion received this news, when he was about sixty miles from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to re-animate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and prayed to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every place as he passed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the Syracusans; who called Dion their preserver, their god, and his soldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens.

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At that instant, there was not a single man in the city so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great danger over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets and publick places were universally covered.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no less terrible : For they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their safety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capable of disordering and discouraging Dion's soldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midst of fires ; exposing themselves to being crushed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of smoke, mingled with dust.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each side were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground. But at length, Dion's soldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nypsius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near ; and those who remained without, being broke, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved ; the Syracusans being obliged to apply to the preservation of their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire ; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all fled self-condemned, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct : That it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to shew himself as much so in *that greatness of soul*, which could conquer re-

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resentment and revenge, and forgive the ungrateful, who themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplics Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their violent malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the soldiers, and in so doing, exterminate from the state that seed of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious consequences, than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appease them, said, "That other captains generally made the means of quelling their enemies their sole application; that for his part he had passed much time in the academy, in learning to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of the mind: That the sign of having conquered them is not in fierceness and affability to friends and persons of merit, but in treating those with humanity who have injured us, and in being always ready to forgive them: That he did not desire so much to appear superior to Heraclides in power and authority, as in wisdom and justice; for in that, true and essential superiority consists. That if Heraclides be wicked, malicious, and perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself with low resentment? It is true, according to human laws, there seems to be less injustice in revenging an injury than committing it; but if we consult nature, we shall find both the one and the other to have their rise in the weakness of the mind. Besides, there is no disposition so durable and savage, but may be vanquished by the force of kind usage and obligations." Dion upon these reasons pardoned Heraclides.

His next application was to inclose the citadel with a wall of work, and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go and labour at a large stake. In the night, he set his soldiers to work, and the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the swiftness of the execution, were matter of admiration for a world, as well the enemy, as the citizens.

Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo with supreme authority by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and desired that Dion might have the authority of the assembly. But the merchants and artificers, who were sorry that Heraclides should lose

office of admiral ; and convinced, that although he were little estimable in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, they opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid disturbance and confusion, did not insist upon that point, and acquiesced that Heraclides should continue to command in chief at sea. But his opposing the distribution of lands and houses, which they were earnest for having take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues ; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival : But it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan, who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former ; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracusans having dismissed their sea-forces who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the soldiers grew mutinous, and would observe no discipline. The son of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, capitulated with Dion to surrender the citadel, with all the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and sisters away with him, filled five galleys with his people and effects, and went to his father ; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were passionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with so agreeable a spectacle, and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years servitude, the sun arose for the first time upon the Syracusan liberty.

Apollocrates having set sail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion ; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus : " The tears you see her shed, the shame expressed in her looks, at the time your presence restores us life and joy, her silence itself, and her confusion sufficiently denote the grief she suffers at the

“ fight of an husband, to whom another has been substituted
 “ contrary to her will, but who alone has always possessed her
 “ heart. Shall she salute you as her uncle, shall she embrace
 “ you as her husband ?” Aristomache having spoke in this
 manner, Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced
 his wife ; to whom he gave his son, and sent them home to his
 house ; because he thought proper to leave the citadel to the
 discretion of the Syracusans, as an evidence of their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a magnificence
 truly royal all those who had contributed to his success, ac-
 cording to their rank and merit, at the height of glory and
 happiness, and the object not only of Sicily, but of Carthage
 and all Greece, who esteemed him the wisest and most fortunate
 captain that ever lived, he constantly retained his original sim-
 plicity ; as modest and plain in his garb, equipage, and table,
 as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with
 people bred in armies, with officers and soldiers, who often
 breathe nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly,
 at the time Plato wrote to him, *That the eyes of all mankind were*
upon him alone ; little affected with that general admiration,
 his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school
 of wisdom and virtue, where exploits and successes were not
 judged from the external splendor and noise with which they
 are attended, but from the wise and moderate use of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse,
 composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the Aristo-
 cratical was always to prevail, and to decide important affairs
 by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be vested
 in a council of elders. Heraclides again opposed him in this
 scheme, still turbulent and seditious according to custom, and
 solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and
 other popular arts. One day, when Dion sent for him to the
 council, he answered that he would not come ; and that, being
 only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the
 rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in
 such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to
 render Dion odious ; who, weary of his repeated insults, per-
 mitted those to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They
 accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. We shall
 see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were highly affected for his death ; but as
 Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed
 his body in person at the head of his whole army, and after-
 ward, harangued the people upon the occasion, they were ap-
 peased, and forgave him the murder ; convinced, that it was
 impossible

impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and Dion governed together.

(*) After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace of mind. An hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury sweeping his house with violence. His son's death, who for some unknown grief had thrown himself from the roof of an house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, whilst he lodged in his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Callippus, having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the sole obstacle to his designs. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's sister and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains, to discover the truth by a very strict enquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable, that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the *great oath*, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself it is possible to imagine. The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from several hands, as did Dion himself, whose friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. But he never could resolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as an horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than to live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by the Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wife of that prince were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there herself.

* After this murder, Callippus was for some time in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service in effect of the gifts he bestowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life: And Plutarch observes, that the success of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, as suffering calmly, and without indignation, the vilest of men, to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by so detestable and impious a method. But providence was not long without justifying itself, for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian soldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and, it was said, with the same dagger with which Dion had been assassinated.

History has few examples of so distinct an attention of providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perfidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine justice evidences itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristonache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Ictes of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind, had he persevered: But complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board,
under

under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them in the passage, and to throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of that traitor.

(b) The relations and friends of Dion, soon after his death, had wrote to Plato, to consult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty, or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible, and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus, Dion's son; another Hipparinus, Dionysius the younger's brother, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the same scheme, thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly observed, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to serve as a balance between the power of the kings, the senate, and the people.

It does not appear, that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. (c) It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet, and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.

The history of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty-eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I shall return in the sequel to the affairs of Sicily, and shall relate the end of Dionysius the younger, and the re-establishment of the Syracusan liberty by Timoleon.

SECT. IV. *Character of DION.*

IT is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one as the same person as were united in Dion. I do not consider in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his of associating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct, and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leisure : I confine myself to the statesman and patriot, and in this view, how admirable does he appear ! Greatness of soul, elevation of sentiment, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroick valour in battle attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarcely be paralleled, a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers, or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the publick good carried almost to excess : These are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of the tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and, if I may say so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, and unexampled patience, with which he suffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and sacrificed every thing to come to their relief ; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty : In return for such great services, they shamefully expelled him from the city, accompanied with an handful of foreign soldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt ; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy, the most cruel outrages and indignity : To punish those ungrateful traitors he had only a signal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers : Master of theirs, as well as his own temper, he stops their impetuosity, and without disarming their hands, restrains their just rage, suffering them, in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There seems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having something rigid and austere in his humour, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth and his be-

friends

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friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: But notwithstanding the reproaches which were made upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity, with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon abating nothing of them: Whether his genius was entirely averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion; or that from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he chose that rough and manly manner of behaving to them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the * art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by assuming the severe master, by commanding haughtily, and contenting oneself with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible vigour. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary to soften, and make them more convertible; which is best effected by a kindness of manners, and an insinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and observing upon those which are more considerable, with favour and goodness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition, as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him, that lasted to the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

SECT.

* Which art, an ancient poet called, | rum oratio, Cic. l. i. de Divin. n.
Hexanima, atque omnium regina re- | 80.

SECT. V. DIONYSIUS the younger re-ascends the throne. Syracuse implores aid of the Corinthians, who send TIMOLEON. That general enters Syracuse, notwithstanding all the endeavours of NICETAS to prevent him. DIONYSIUS surrenders himself to him, and retires to Corinth.

(d) CALLIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years.

* Syracuse and all Sicily, being harraised by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius, taking the advantage of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypsius, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he re-instated himself in the possession of his dominions.

(e) It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos of very great value. The gallies which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near (f) Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of his sacred booty, and was answered, not to examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and justice their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

(g) A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously in regard to the Romans about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the † custom to divide all the

(d) A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C. 357. Diod. l. xvi. p. 432—436. * A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (e) Ibid. p. 453. (f) Corfu. (g) Tit. Liv. Decad. i. l. v. c. 28. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307.

† *Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio, partem prædam divideret. Forte ex anto in summo inapistrato erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis* | *vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, & deum cui mitteretur, & doni causam veritus ipse multitudinem quoque, quæ semper*

the prizes they took as a common stock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timasitheus ||, and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the sacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of distinction, and their expences borne by the publick. Timasitheus convoyed them with a good Squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do further honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both sides : But the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius : though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

(i) The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Icetas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general ; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most declared tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, and having made a great progress there, the
Sicilians

(i) Diod. l. xvi. p. 459, & 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236, & 243.

fermè regenti est similis, religionis justæ implevit ; adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum præsidio etiam navium Delphos profectus, Roman inde hospites restituit.

Hospitium cum eo senatus consulto est factum, donaque publicè data.
Tit. Liv.

|| *Timasitheus signifies one who honours the gods,*

Meilicians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in favour of liberty. Ice who proposed no other end from his command, than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, even sent his deputies along with theirs.

• Corinth received the ambassadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believing, that at his age, and in circumstances he then was, he should be thought on upon any occasion.

He was descended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants and bad men. He was an excellent captain: and as in youth he had all the maturity of age, in age he had all the ardour and courage of the most ardent youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he dearly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon a heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be assassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother, especially, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's mother,

des

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er, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors
inst him.

He was then struck with all the horror of the most guilty,
giving himself up to the cruellest remorse, considered Ti-
phanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved
put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment.
was with great difficulty his friends dissuaded him from that
al resolution. Overcome by their prayers and instances, he
s at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned him-
f to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment
renounced all publick affairs; and for several years never
ne to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and
art places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy:
true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false
sonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience,
ich is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those
o presume to violate the most sacred rights and ties of
ture!

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed
urn to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived
re always private and retired, without concerning himself
th the administration of the government. It was not with-
t great repugnance that he accepted the employment of ge-
ral; but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of
country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was preparing to
l, the Corinthians received letters from Ictetas, in which he
d them, "that it was not necessary for them to make any
farther levies, or to exhaust themselves in great expences to
come to Sicily, and expose themselves to evident danger;
that the Carthaginians, apprized of their design, were
waiting to intercept their squadron in its passage with a
great fleet; and that their slowness in sending their troops,
had obliged him to call in the Carthaginians themselves to
his aid, and to make use of them against the tyrant." He
d made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated,
at after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse, he should
ke possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of
e Corinthians, only incensed them more than at first, and
stened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board
n gallies, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy, where the
ws that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and dis-
uraged his troops. It brought an account, that Ictetas had
feated Dionysius, and having made himself master of the
greatest

greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called *The Isle*, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on shore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in consequence had sent twenty gallees to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Ictas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was entirely injurious, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels, which the Barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme distress, which could not avoid being the reward of Ictas's treachery, and of the support which the Carthaginians should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to discharge himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betrayed its interests. The governors and magistrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the Barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themselves solely to the present affair.

The people being assembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the same subject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian gallees went off, and were suffered to pass by the Carthaginian vessels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that those nine gallees were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Ictas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper, that his gallees were at sea, he slipped gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the sea-side, embarked directly, and having re-joined his gallees, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a

city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to re-instate the Sicilian liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprized and ashamed of being so deceived : But, as somebody told them, being Phœnicians (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world) fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Ictas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian galleys advance. They had an hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Ictas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force ; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their subsistence. Besides which, the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had suffered from the extortion and cruelty, that had been practised amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax ; who being both sent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below mount *Ætna*, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Ictas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon ; the former with five thousand men, and the other with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters, and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no sooner saw him, than they took to their heels. This occasioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners ; but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the time, and received Timoleon. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Ictetas, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon, sent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus, with four hundred soldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the gate, but in platoons, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sort of engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Ictetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that ever had been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midst of wars and battles. * He was sent to Corinth with only one galley without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a sight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextricable abyss of distress, into which they beheld him plunged.

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any sentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in perfumers shops, in taverns, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of musick, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in such a manner out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to discover any thought or desire of recovering his dominions. But such an opinion does him too much honour, and it seems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauch-

ery,

ery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

(m) Some writers say, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, says * Cicero, without doubt jestingly, to retain a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding.

(n) Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionysius, who had seen himself master of Syracuse, and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same † Dionysius, reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a school-master, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. The Lacedæmonians some time after gave Philip this admonition.

(o) That prince, having wrote to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other answer, but *Dionysius at Corinth*.

An expression of Dionysius, which has been preserved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. (p) Whilst he lived at Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent grossness, upon his commerce with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, Of what consequence all the wisdom of Plato had been to him? *Can you believe then,* replied he, *that I have received no benefit from Plato, and see me bear ill fortune as I do?*

SECT.

(m) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 27.
Phaler. de Eloq. 11. l. viii.

(n) Val. Max. l. vi.

(o) Demet.

(p) Plut. in Timol. p. 243.

* Dionysii Corinthi pueros decebat, usque adeo imperio carere non poterat.

† Tanta mutatione majores natus, nequis nimis fortunæ crederet, magister ludi factus ex tyranno docuit.

THE HISTORY OF

SECT. VI. TIMOLEON, *after several victories, restores liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise laws. He quits his country, and passed the rest of his life in retirement. His Honours paid to his memory.*

(9) **A**FTER the retreat of Dionysius, Ictas pressed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent by the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, sent them frequently thither, to deprive them of this relief, Ictas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having perceived from the ramparts, that those who had been left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, he made sudden furious sallies upon them, whilst they were dispersed, he put part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called *Achradina*, which was the strongest part, and had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news caused Mago and Ictas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after he had taken possession of Messina, marched in battle array against Syracuse. His army consisted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send salaries amongst the soldiers that bore arms for Ictas. He represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all barbarians. That Ictas had only to join Timoleon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. The soldiers, having spread these insinuations throughout the camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed. Besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the intreaties and warm remonstrances of Ictas, he weighed anchor, and sailed for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER. 191

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in a field of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with much vigour and success, that Ictas's troops were universally overthrown and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune at has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not like Dion in sparing the forts and publick edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first decried, though without foundation, at length ruined, that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans, who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demolished, but the palaces of the tyrant; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the same place from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: For some having perished in the wars and seditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a desert, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. All the cities of Sicily were almost in the same condition. Timoleon and the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to desire that people might be sent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself, and was besides threatened with a new war. For they had received intelligence, that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a cross, and were making great preparations to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with ambassadors from Syracuse, they conjured the Corinthians to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not consider the calamity of that people as an occasion of glorandizing themselves, and of making themselves masters of
the

the lands amongst them. At the same time they dispatched couriers into Asia, and into all the isles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as soon as possible to Corinth, which would provide them vessels, covers, and a safe convoy to transport them into their country at its own expence.

Upon this publication Corinth received universal praises and blessings, as it justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed that Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here on the grandeur of so noble and generous an action : The relation of it must make the impression that always results from the great and noble ; and every body owned, that no conquest or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterested service.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. Their number amounted to sixty thousand and upwards. Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them *gratis* ; but sold the houses, with which he raised a very great sum ; let

same scrutiny were made into all statues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

(r) History has preserved another sentence passed also in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuse a digression. Nicon, a champion of Thasos, had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the solemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors insulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge perhaps those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it, and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death, proceeded juridically against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even inanimate things should be destroyed, which should occasion the death of a man by their fall. The Thasians, conformable to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But some years after, being afflicted with great famine, and having consulted the oracle of Delphos, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuse being raised in a manner from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Ictas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians: For he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at

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the

(r) Suidas in Nicæ; Pausan. l. vi. p. 364.

* An island in the Ægean sea.

the same time, he sent them, under the command of Di- and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much boot, returned with considerable sums of money, which was of service in the support of the war.

(1) About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lily under Asdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, a thousand transports with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait, advancing, and though he could raise only six or seven thousand men, so great was the people's terror, he marched with a small body of troops against the formidable body of the Carthaginians (2). Timoleon returned to Syracuse amidst the joy and universal applauses.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes, made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt deserved. Leptas, amongst others, with his son, were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been sent to Syracuse, and presented to the people, were sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, designed to avenge Dion their first deliverer by decree. For it was the same Leptas, who had caused the death of Dion's wife, his sister Aristomache, and his son, an infant, to be thrown into the sea.

Virtue is seldom or never without envy. Two accusers moved Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges, and having assigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded surties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have dispersed with so great a man's observing the usual formalities; but he strongly opposed, giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws should have their due course. He was accused of malversation in his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute those calumnies, only replied, "

(1) Plut. in Timol. p. 247. & 255.

(2) Vol. I.

thanked the gods, who had heard his prayers, and that he at length saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of saying every thing ; a liberty absolutely unknown to them under the tyrants, but which it was just to confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had purged Sicily of the tyrants which had so long infested it, had re-blished peace and security universally, and supplied the ruins ruined by the war with the means of re-inflating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the island in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth ; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become a free country. He had the wisdom in resigning every thing to exalt himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to reach exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial. He shunned the rock, on which the ablest men, through an insatiate lust of honours and power, often shipwrecked ; that is, by engaging to the end of their days in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by chusing rather to sink under, than to lay under the weight of them *.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of a noble and glorious name, acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of being so many cities, and such a numerous people indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always consulted and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor reformation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been consulted, and put the last hand to it.

His age was tried with a very sensible affliction, which he supported with astonishing patience ; it was the loss of sight. An accident, far from lessening him in the consideration and regard of the people, served only to augment them. The Syracusans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits, they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the assembly of the people, they called him in to their assistance, who came

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thither

*Maluit deficere, quam defecere, Quintil.
Optum cum dignitate, Cic.*

He had still greater honours paid to him after
Nothing was wanting that could add to the magni-
the procession, which followed his hier, of which the
were shed, and the blessings uttered by every body i
of his memory, were the noblest ornaments. Those
neither the effect of custom and the formality of r
nor exacted by a publick decree, but flowed from
source, sincere affection, lively gratitude, and in
sorrow. A law was also made, that annually for th
upon the day of his death, the musick and gymnasti
should be celebrated with horse-races in honour of h
what was still more honourable for the memory of
man, was the decree of the Syracusan people; that
Sicily shall be engaged in a war with foreigners, th
send to Corinth for a general.

I do not know, that history has any thing more
accomplished than what it says of Timoleon. I
only of his military exploits, but the happy success
undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristick
which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great m
times, and makes use, upon that occasion, of a very
able comparifon. There is, says he, in painting an
pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which a
view may be known to be the works of a master; bu
them denote their having cost abundance of pains an

and his reserving only for himself the pleasure of
 to be happy by his services ; his extreme remoteness
 from men and haughtiness ; his honourable retirement into
 the country ; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the
 praise of men ; and what is still more uncommon, his
 rejection of all flattery, and even just praises. When * some-
 ed, in his presence, his wisdom, valour, and glory,
 expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that
 himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods,
 decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, had
 to make choice of him in preference to all others
 capable of such a ministration : For he was fully persuaded,
 that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret
 divine providence. What a treasure, what a hap-
 py state, is such a minister !

For a better understanding his value, we have only to
 compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with its
 condition under the two Dionysius's. It is the same city, inhabi-
 ted by the same people : But how different is it under the different
 tyrants we speak of ! The two tyrants had no thoughts
 of making themselves feared, and of depressing their sub-
 jects under them more passive. They were terrible in effect,
 but were hated to be ; but at the same time detested and ab-
 dicated. They had more to fear from their subjects, than their
 subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked
 upon himself as the father of the Syracusan people, and who
 thought only of making them happy, enjoyed the re-
 ward of being beloved and revered as a parent by his
 subjects. And he was remembered amongst them with blef-
 sings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity
 which they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the same time the
 benefactor, to whom they were indebted for those inesti-
 mable blessings.

as laudes audiret prædi- m aliud dixit, quam se imas diis gratias agere & , cum Siciliam recreare , tum se potissimum du-	cem esse voluissent. Nihil enim re- rum humanarum sine decorum nu- mine agi putabat. <i>Cor. Nep. in Timol.</i> c. iv.
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 BOOK THE TWELFTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PERSIANS AND GRECIANS
CONTINUED.

C H A P. I.

THIS book contains principally the history of two very illustrious generals of the Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the deaths of Agesilaus king of Sparta and of Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia.

SECT. I. *State of Greece from the treaty of Antalcides. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. They seize by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.*

(a) **T**HE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great matter of discontent and division. In effect of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Mantineans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

The

THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS. 199.

(b) The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was having Sparta, already much exclaimed against for the treaty of Antalcides, suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending their dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active, and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

* At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of Macedonia, in the neighbourhood of Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Eubœa. (c) Athens, after the victory of Salamis and Marathon, had conquered many places on the coast of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented, in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situate in their neighbourhood, daily improved its strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its confederacies; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and the Thebans. The affair being taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with arms, to such as desired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli (d) a day for each foot-soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lose no time, ordered their troops march directly, under the command of Eubonidas, who prevailed with the Ephori, that Phæbidas, his brother, might have the leading of those which were to follow, and to join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose, seized upon Potidea, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence, and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as it was necessary for a general to act before his troops were all assembled.

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Phæbidas

(b) Diod. l. xv. p. 341. * A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. (c) Diod. l. 15. p. 554, 556. (d) Four-pence.

other, on the contrary, favoured an oligarchy, and supported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole interest, obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am to relate, and which was a consequence of it, scarcely important war between the Thebans and Spartans.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leontides, to Phæbidas, and proposed to him to seize the citadel, Cadmea, to expel the adherents of Demetrius, and to get Lacedæmonians possession of it. He represented to him nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make master of Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to recover Cynosus; that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprise; and that the Thebans, who habituated their citizens by decree to bear arms against the throne, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply him with whatever number of horse he should think proper, for the reinforcement of Rudas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, who had no other view than to distinguish himself by extraordinary action, without examining the consequences, feared himself to be easily persuaded. Whilst the Thebes entirely secured under the treaty of peace lately concluded the Grecian States, celebrated the triumph of Cares, and nothing less than such an act of hostility, Phæbidas, encouraged by Leontides, took possession of the citadel. The sea

quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were soon after banished by a publick decree. Pelopidas was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmolested; being disregarded as a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new Polemarch was nominated in the room of Ismenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phæbidas's enterprize, who at a time of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim or right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed Agesilaus, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose orders Phæbidas had committed so strange a breach of publick faith. Agesilaus, who well knew that those warm approaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phæbidas, and declared openly, and before all the world, 'That the action ought to be considered in itself, in order to understand whether it were useful or not; that whatever was expedient for Sparta, he was not only permitted, but commanded to act upon his own authority, and without waiting the orders of any body.' Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who upon other occasions had maintained, *That justice was the supreme of virtues, and that without it, valour, self, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing.* It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the king of Persia's grandeur; *He, whom we call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unless he is more just?* A truly noble and admirable maxim, **THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EXCELS AND IS GREAT!** But a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a statesman might always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence, which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the utility of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the matter of it set in its full light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined an hundred thousand drachmas (*g*); but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a

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Strange

(*g*) About 2020 pound sterling.

strange contradiction was this, says Polybius (5) ! what a regard of all justice and reason ! to punish the criminal, approve the crime ; and not only to approve the crime but and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the lick authority, and continue it in the name of the state for advantages arising from it ! But this was not all ; commanders, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, dispatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Ismenius, whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither one's country's interest, nor one's own.

(i) Teleutias, Agesilaus's brother, had been substituted the place of Phæbidas to command the rest of the troops the allies designed against Olynthus ; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with everything necessary to a good defence. Several sallies were made with great success, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Agesipolis had the command of the army. His campaign passed in skirmishing ; without any thing decisive. Agesipolis died soon after of a disease, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years. * About this time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybius the general pressed the siege with vigour. The place being in want of provisions, was at last obliged to surrender, and received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

SECT. II. *Sparta's prosperity. Character of two illustrious kings, EPAMINONDAS and PELOPIDAS. The latter executed the design of restoring the liberty of his country. Campaign against the tyrants wisely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.*

(k) THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater splendor, nor their power more firmly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by conquest or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that of all Bœotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependance. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in everything. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and

(b) Lib. iv. p. 196. (i) Xenoph. l. v. p. 559—569. Diod. l. 15. p. 342, 343. * A. M. 3624. Ant. J. C. 362. (k) Xenoph. l. 1. p. 334. Diod. p. 334.

duced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city, or people in their alliance, attempted to abstract themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Sicily, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity, founded in injustice, can be of no long duration. The greatest blows that were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter where they had acted the highest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear, that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

(m) These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and whilst young, sole heir of a very rich and flourishing family, employed his wealth from the first possession of it in the relief of such as had occasion for it, and merited his favour; shewing in that wise use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave. For according to Aristotle's remark repeated by Plutarch, * most men either make no use at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost say his joy and delight, consisted. He was born of poor parents, and consequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and easy to him by his taste for philosophy. Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his dress, and the frugality of his table.

(n) If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, those of the head and heart made him a most ample amends. Modest, prudent, grave, happy in improving occasions, possessing in a supreme degree the science of war, equally valiant and wise, easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world, suffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his

(m) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

* Τὸν πλουσίον, ὃς μὴ ἰ χρῆσται τῷ πλούτῳ διὰ ματαγωγίαν, ὃ δὲ πορευόμενος δι' ἀνομίαν.

(n) Cor. Nep. in Epam. c. iii.

friends ill treatment, uniting with the ardour for military exercises, a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lye even in jest, or for diversion. *Ad eo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

(v) They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palæstra and the chace, and the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship, that always subsisted between them during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the publick affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, dissension, and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first offices in the state; all great affairs passed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In such delicate conjunctures what occasions of pique and jealousy generally arise? But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the least emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue; which in all their actions, says Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal sources of strife and division, in view, but solely the publick good, and made them desire not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such were the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events, in which they have a principal share.

(p) Leontides, being apprized that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and were in great esteem with all people of worth and honour, sent thither certain unknown persons to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed, all the rest escaping the contrivances of Leontides.

At

(v) Plut. in Pelop. p. 579. (p) A. M. 5626. Ant. J. C. 378. Xenoph. in Hæc. Gr. l. v. p. 566—568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 286—284. Id. de Senect. p. 586—588, & 594—598. Diod. l. xx. p. 344—346. Cor. in Pelop. c. i.—iv.

At the same time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them from their city, as they were declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue, peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the occasion of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a publick decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, Thrasylulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, " That it was unworthy
 " of honest men, to content themselves with having saved
 " their own lives, and to look with indifference upon their
 " country, enslaved and miserable: That whatever good-will
 " the people of Athens might express for them, it was not fit
 " that they should suffer their fate to depend upon the decrees
 " of a people, which their natural inconstancy, and the malignity of orators that turned them any way at will, might
 " soon alter: That it was necessary to hazard every thing,
 " after the example of Thrasylulus, and to set before them
 " his intrepid valour and generous fortitude as a model: That
 " as he set out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the tyrants
 " of Athens, so they might go from Athens to restore Thebes
 " its ancient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected. They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons of the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archidas and Philip, who were then Polemarchs, or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans by his discourse with a passionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. (g) He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected, but he believed, that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrue his hands in the blood of his country; foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprize, however lawful in
 itself,

itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen, who should not appear to be taken either party, would have it in his power to influence people with the better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conspirators, should stop at Thriastrum, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honours, offered themselves for this bold enterprize. Pelopidas was in this number. After having embraced their companions, he dispatched a messenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming; they set out dressed in mean habits, carrying bows with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of nets; such as they met on the way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters, that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon, that they were set out, the approach of day did not alter his sentiments, and as he wanted neither countenance nor honour, he prepared his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was no bad man, loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power, but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprize, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obstacles, that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination: Much disordered with the prospect of danger, this man retired into his house without saying any thing, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprize, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily that friend, not finding his horse in the bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the close of day. It was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; besides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where the exiles and others, their whole number amounted to sixteen.

Philidas, secretary to the * Boeotarchs, who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had been free with the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without shewing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias however sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when, on a sudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Somebody went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded, that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and present himself with an air of assurance to the magistrates, as void of fear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatened only himself; but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also, that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only son of fifteen years old the most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, saying at the same time, "If you discover that I have betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, revenge yourselves on me in this my only son, whom, as dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a victim without mercy to his father's perfidy."

These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most sensible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously, not to leave his son with them, but to put him into some place of safety; that his friends and country might

not

* The magistrates and generals, who were charged with the government of Boeotia, were called Boeotarchs, that is to say, commanders or governors of Boeotia.

not want an avenger, if he should be so fortunate to escape tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he shall stay with me and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler end can he make, than with his father and best friends? For my son, exert yourself beyond your years, and shew rage, worthy of you and me. You see here the most valiant of the Thebans. Make under such masters a essay of glory, and learn to fight; or if it must be die, like them, for liberty. For the rest, I am not without hopes, for I believe, that the justice of our cause will procure the down the favour and protection of the gods upon us. He concluded with a prayer for them, and after embracing his conspirators went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to correct his looks and voice, that he might not appear under an awkward cern. When he came to the door of the house where the conspirators were kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and explained the meaning of a report, that disaffected people were assembled in the city, and were concealed in some house. He was astonished; and finding by their answers to his question, that they had no precise information of any thing, he assumed a bolder tone, and said, "It is very likely the report you speak of is only a false alarm, intended to interrupt your preparations. However, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immediately and make the strictest enquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debate, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised the

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared not to conquer or to save their lives, but to die gloriously to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and calmness of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which, they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to prevent the least delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

In effect, at that very instant, happened a second storm more violent than the first, and which seemed as if it could possibly fail of making the enterprize miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as afterwards discovered. That courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his dispatches, he said, "My lord, the person who writes you these letters, con-

"you to read them immediately, being serious affairs." Archias replied laughing, * *Serious affairs to-morrow*, which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them † under his pillow, and continued the conversation and debauch.

The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. These had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment where the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the servants were all dismissed, which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered sword in hand, and shewing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the sword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more resistance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rising immediately, armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet, but was at last killed himself.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with so much dispatch and success, couriers were immediately dispatched to Thriasisum. The doors of the prisons were broke open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to resume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The spoils affixed to the porticos were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers shops broke open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with some old persons of great estimation, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in a consternation at what had happened, and for want of sufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not falling upon them during their disorder; for

the

* Οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν, ἔγωγε, καὶ οὐκ αὐτῶν.

† The Greeks eat lying on beds.

the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, besides three hundred, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by what they heard, the illuminations they saw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, having sent couriers to Sparta with the news of what happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day at sun-rise the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were summoned to assemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, surrounded with their sacrificers, carrying in their hands the sacred bay and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to assist their country and to join with their gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, received the conspirators as their benefactors, and delivered them. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were declared Bæotarchs.

Soon after the exiles arrived five thousand foot, and a hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. These troops, with others joined them from all the cities of Bæotia, composed an army of twelve thousand foot, and as many horse, and without long time besieged the citadel, that it might be taken, if relief could come from Sparta.

The besieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender place; at least, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion, they were not the greatest number of the garrison. Their provisions began to fall short, and famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to surrender. The Spartans had their lives granted them, and were permitted to go whither they thought fit. They were scarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at the head of a powerful army, which, with a shore expedition, might have saved the citadel. But this was not the first time the natural slowness of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprizes. The commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were punished with death, and the third had so great a fine upon him, that not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Peloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable that ever was executed by surprize and stratagem. Plutarch, with reason, compares it to that of Thrasylus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all resource, and re-

to implore a foreign support, form the bold design of attacking a formidable power with an handful of men; and overcoming all obstacles to their enterprize solely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thraſybulus for that sudden and happy change, which freeing them from the oppreſſion they groaned under, not only reſtored their liberty, but with it their ancient ſplendor, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta ſtumble in their turn. We ſhall ſee in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire both by ſea and land, was the work of this ſingle night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortrefs, and entering only one of twelve into a private houſe, * unloofed, and broke the chains impoſed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other ſtates of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce ſuch an effect.

SECT. III. *SPHODRIAS the Lacedæmonian forms a deſign againſt the Piræus without ſucceſs. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmiſhes between the latter and the Lacedæmonians.*

(*) **T**HE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprize of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themſelves in earnest to their revenge. Ageſilaus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to ſupport tyrants, would not reſpect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately ſucceeded king Ageſipolis; under pretence that his great age diſpenſed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Boeotia with his army. The firſt campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing ſome ravages in the country; after which, the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Theſpiæ, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themſelves in a condition to make head againſt the Lacedæmonians, and were afraid of the conſequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Thoſe, who perſiſted to adhere to the Theban party, were ſome impriſoned, ſome put to death, others banished,

(*) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Xenoph. l. v. p. 568—572. Plut. in Agel. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

α. Σφωδρίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῇ Περσῇ / ἐπιχειρῶν ἐν τῇ Περσῇ, ἀποτυχὼν ἐν τῇ Περσῇ. ὁ δὲ
 Κλεομβρότος, ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῇ Περσῇ / ἐπιχειρῶν ἐν τῇ Περσῇ, ἀποτυχὼν ἐν τῇ Περσῇ.

banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban also seemed almost desperate; not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of the army, and were studious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the stratagem contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thebes with a small number of troops, to receive and protect such of the Boeotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, superficial, full of himself, and frequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to Thebes, with the offer, as from himself, of a considerable sum of money, and with insinuations more agreeable to him, as money, as they flattered his vanity. "After having presented to him, that one of his merit and reputation was to form some great enterprize to immortalize his name," "proposed to him the seizing of the Piræus by surprise," "the Athenians had no expectation of such an attempt," "added, that nothing could be more grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to see themselves masters of Athens; that the Thebans, enraged at the Athenians, whom they considered as traitors and deserters, would lend them the assistance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envious of the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his sense, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt on Thebes, conceived it would be a much more shining and glorious exploit to seize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprize therefore with joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than the Cadmea, but not executed with the same boldness or success. For having set out in the night from Thebes, the view of surprizing the Piræus before light, the day overtook him in the plain of Thriasium near Eleusis, and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thebes with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors with complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found, that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having no reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment

his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the son of Agesilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agesilaus was little delicate, as we have seen already, in point of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them; and that having been surprized by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till himself was a father.

(*r*) The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incensed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to assist them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his own valour and exploits. It was he, whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted sleeping, with the goddess Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him (*r*): But upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the isle of Corcyra (*u*), which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their side made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy situation between Sicily and Greece rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionysius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they dispatched their fleet under Mnasippus. The Athenians sent sixty sail against them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at first; but soon after, upon his seeming to act too slowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnasippus having made himself odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour, and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice, that the Syracusan squadron of ten galleys approached, which he attacked so successfully, that not one of them escaped. He demanded, that the orator Callistratus, and Chabrias, one of the

* (*r*) Xenoph. l. v. p. 524—529. Plut. in Ages. p. 610, 611. Id. in Pelop. p. 225—228. (*r*) Plut. in Syl. p. 454. (*u*) Corfu.

OUT CONSIDERABLE LOSS ON HIS OWN SIDE. THE TWO ARE every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes which served the Thebans in the trade of war, and to inspire the valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported that an Antalcides told Agesilaus very justly upon this he he was brought back from Boeotia much wounded, *Agesilaus, you have a fine reward for the lessons you have taught the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught they neither would nor could learn.* It was to prevent the inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws he calls *Rhetra*, forbade the Lacedæmonians to make war upon the same enemy, lest they should make them soldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themselves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner without being decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Thebans not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers to inure and imbolden themselves. When the opportunity was favourable, they let themselves loose like generous warriors and after having given them a taste of victory by wayward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their success and conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. He failed in his enterprize against Orchomenos, which he had undertaken for the Lacedæmonians. at his return he found the ene-

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superior in number, as they were by at least two-thirds. The battle began where the generals of each party were posted, and was very rude. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who were charged Pelopidas, were presently killed; all that was left of them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Theban troops were so daunted, that they opened a way for the Thebans, who might have marched on to save them, if they had thought fit: But Pelopidas, disdainful of that opening for his retreat, advanced against them, who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that they were all dismayed, and fled in confusion.

The Thebans did not pursue them far, lest they be surprized. They contented themselves with having taken them, and with making a glorious retreat not inferior to victory, because through the enemy dispersed and de-

stroyed. This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in the year 371, the source of the great actions and events we are now to treat of. It had never happened till then in any war, against the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the superiority of number on their side, nor even with equal forces in battle array. For this reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation kept their enemies in awe, who never durst shew themselves in the field before them, unless superior in number. Now lost that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of those, who had rendered themselves so universally formidable.

After the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon against Egypt*, and the death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, should naturally come.

But I shall defer those articles, to avoid breaking in upon Theban affairs.

V. New troubles in Greece. The Lacedæmonians declare war against Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leuctra. EPAMINONDAS ravages Laconia, and comes to the gates of Sparta.

WHILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platæa (x), and afterwards, entirely demolished those cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children.

I. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. (y) A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 371. p. 361, 362. (x) Platæa, a city of Boeotia. Theophrastus of Archaia.

and children, where they were received with the utmost and adopted into the number of the citizens.

(a) Artaxerxes, being informed of the state of the affairs, sent a new embassy thither to persuade the several and republicks at war to lay down their arms, and accede their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Ant. By that peace, as has been observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this the Lacedæmonians pressed the Thebans to restore their rights to all the cities of Bœotia, to rebuild Plataea and Tebes which they had demolished, and to restore them with their appendances to their ancient inhabitants. The Thebans on the other side insisted also, that the Lacedæmonians should give up to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its ancient possessors. This was what was required; but the Lacedæmonians, believing themselves superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon which they would not submit to themselves.

All Greece being weary of a war, which had already cost several campaigns, and had no other end than the aggraving of that state, was seriously intent upon a general peace. Thebes, with that view, had sent deputies to Lacedæmon, to concert together the means of attaining so desirable an effect. (Amongst those deputies Epaminondas was of the first rank; he was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet given any distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the administration of publick affairs. Seeing all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to dissent from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of the imperious power on one side, and too servile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a will and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view but the publick good. He made a speech, not for Thebes alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whilst the rest of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the necessity of establishing the peace in equal justice, because no peace could be solid and of long duration but that wherein all parties should find an equal advantage.

(a) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. vi. p. 590—593. Dion. p. 365, 366.

(b) Plut. in Agesil. p. 611.

A discourse like this, founded evidently upon reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and serious tone, never failed of making impression. Agefilaus plainly distinguished, by the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not be disposed to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, *Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Bœotia should be free and independent?* that is to say, whether he agreed, that the cities of Bœotia should depend longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately asked in turn with great vivacity, *Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Laconia should enjoy the same independance and liberty?* Upon which Agefilaus rising from his seat in great rage, insisted on his declaring plainly, *Whether he would consent that Bœotia should be free?* Epaminondas retorted his question again, and said, *Whether, on his side, he would consent that Laconia should be free?* Agefilaus, who only wanted a pretext for breaking the treaty with the Thebans, struck them directly out of the treaty of peace, which they were about to conclude. The rest of the deputies signed it, less out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whose power they dreaded.

c) In consequence of this treaty, all the troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republick's resolutions. Procles, one of the principal senators, represented, that there was no room for deliberations, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, has made the recall of the troops indispensable; Agefilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge, and the present seemed most favourable, when all Greece was free and united, except only the Thebans excluded the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, who treated him as an honest, well-meaning dotard, that was of no use in nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops, and sent orders at the same time to all their allies to assemble their forces, who were averse to this war, but did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contracting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet

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Xenoph. l. vi. p. 593—597. Diod. l. xv. p. 365—371. Plut. in Pelop. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

Ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ τῆς Βεωτίας καὶ Λακωνίας.

dare to disobey, Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice; and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge; the Lacedæmonians however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

* The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost; not knowing that in a single man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, *There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country.* However, to re-assure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the sacred battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himself; *That, said he, should be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occasion for such advice; the care of others should be recommended to them.*

Epaminondas had wisely taken care to secure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Bœotia, between Platæa and Thespizæ. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their sentiments. The seventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three, that were for fighting, and his opinion carrying

* A. M. 3634 Ant. J. C. 370.

† *ὅς τις ἀπορῶν, ἀμυνέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνέχου.* Iliad. xi. v. 423.

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carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was in the second year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only six thousand foot and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of *the sacred battalion*, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedæmonians, in whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, Agesilaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. *The sacred battalion* was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian Phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broke, driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly upon Cleombrotus, and fell upon his Phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of the sacred battalion to prevent the enemy's design, and slain Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very rude and obstinate, and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of a losing the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour. But the left wing, seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx had been broke, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, and a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. In all their most bloody defeats till then had scarce ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had never seen, however animated, or rather violently incensed against Athens, to ransom, by a truce of thirty-eight years, a hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut in the little island of Sphæcteria. Here they lost a thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians and four hundred * Spartans, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred killed, among whom were few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the gymnastic games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither.

* Those were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the Lacedæmonians were settled in the country.

hither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations, who were killed, and stayed in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the publick place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses, or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, but such sentiments argue great courage and resolution: But I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased, had there been less of a ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families in the city, it was not safe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution fatal to the state. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a disgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to suffer. They were besides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And, lastly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of so many of their soldiery, at a time they had such pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Age-

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filaus

* Mr. Rollin seems to speak here en François. The sentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are strictly consistent with true greatness of soul. None but slaves will deny, that the next

glory and good fortune to defending their country against its enemies, when its ruin is at stake, is to die in its defence. Slaves have no country. That and themselves are the tyrants.

filans legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agésilas, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to save the fugitive without prejudice to the state. In a full assembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, *That for the present day, the laws should be suspended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority.* By those few words he preserved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state that great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and consequentially useless to the republick.

(c) After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving, and the other in improving their victory.

(d) Agésilas, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full resolution, carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking some small towns of the Mantineans, which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave Sparta some joy, and they began to take courage from believing their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, soon after their victory, sent an account of it to Athen, and to demand aid at the same time against the common enemy. The senate was then sitting, which received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not omit aside the umbrage and dissatisfaction which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might soon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having assembled all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and made abundance of places and people revolt from the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the greater part of Laconia itself. It was then about the winter solstice, and towards the end of the last month of the year, so that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being assigned by law, for their resigning them to the persons appointed to succeed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues, apprehending the badness of the season, and more, the dreadful consequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas

was

(c) Xenoph. L. vi. p. 598. Wood, A. xv. p. 375—378.

(d) Plut. in Ag. ad. §. 613—615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

was the first, who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to pursue their enterprize in neglect of a formality, from the observance of which they might justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the service of the state, when founded in justice, is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, of which the twelfth part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cause, that all the allies, even without order or publick decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was six hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time, they had never seen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Nicholas the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops, to support the enemy's attack, and thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. With these devoting himself, after the example of Leonidas, to the publick good, they sold their lives dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made great slaughter of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

Agefilaus acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous to oppose, whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle, and all the most important parts of the city, strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor so hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out
and

and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Agesilaus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilst the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agesilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added, the grief of losing his reputation; who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now saw it fall to such a degree, and all its ancient glory lost under him! He was, besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, *That no woman of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp.*

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither, and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, *Comrades, it is not there I sent you.* At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprize had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shews, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more adviseable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swollen by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans shewed him to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, * *Wonderful man!* in admiration of the valour that could undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it.

* Ω τὸ μέγα πρόβλημα ἀνδραγαθία. The / lated. It signifies, Oh the actor of
Great expression is not easy to be trans- / great deeds!

It. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city, and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against a victorious army. But the wise captain, who commanded it, apprehended, that he should draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, that he should excite the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republick, and *pulling out*, as Lepidus says, *one of the eyes of Greece*, as a proof of his skill (g). He confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose Laconick language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of enlarging their stile, and lengthening their * monosyllables. At his return he again wasted the country.

(b) In this expedition the Thebans re-instated Arcadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it † very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the ancient name, was called Messene. Amongst the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief; because from immemorial time an irreconcilable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messene, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

(i) Polybius reflects upon an ancient error in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great sollicitude for the present tranquillity, and through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours,

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(g) Arist. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10. (b) Pauf. l. iv. p. 267, 268. (i) Polyb. l. iv. p. 299, 300.

* The Lacedæmonians sometimes answered the most important dispatches by a single monosyllable. Philip having wrote to them, If I enter your country, I shall put all to fire and sword, they

replied, If; to signify they should take all possible care to put it out of his power.

† The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years.

the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them: The others, on the contrary, always joined with and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians, neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcilable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. The two states were either at war with each other, or on their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, little provident for future, and regarding only their present repose, made it a point with them never to engage in the quarrel on either side, to observe an exact neutrality. On such conjunctures, they congratulated themselves upon their wisdom and success in preserving their tranquillity, whilst their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians, having subdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their force, and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to submit, either to the yoke of a rigid slavery, or to banish themselves from their country. And this was several times their case. They ought to have reflected, says Polybius, that as there is nothing more desirable or advantageous than peace, when founded in justice and honour; so there is nothing more shameful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad means and purchased at the price of liberty.

SECT. V. *The two Theban generals, at their return, are acquitted and absolved. Sparta implors aid of the Athenians. Greeks send ambassadors to ARTAXERXES. Credit of P. PIDAS at the court of Persia.*

IT might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after such memorable acts, should have been received with the general applause, and the honours that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which, they were both summoned to answer as criminals against the state; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained their command four months beyond the appointed term; during which time they had executed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all the great things we have related.

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* Εἰρήνη γὰρ μετὰ μὲν τοῦ διαδίου καὶ ἀφ' ὧν
συντάσσεται, καθίσταται ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ λυσιτελεῖται-
| τιν' μετὰ δὲ καμίας ἢ ἐβας/ας ἐστὶ
ἀνάστατος ἀπὸ χροῦ καὶ ἀλυσίτητων.

A behaviour of this kind is surprizing, and the relation of it cannot be read without a secret indignation : But such a conduct had a very plausible foundation. The zealous assertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing some future magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and in consequence to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the same manner ; and if they were so severe, to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority ?

(K) Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal. He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyrick upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty stile, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour ; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and every thing he did had an air of grandeur in it. (L) His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *Tearch* ; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that *the office did not only shew the man, but the man the office*. He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted in only taking

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care,

(K) *Plut. de sui laude, p. 540.*

(L) *Plut. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 822.*

• Οὐ μέγα ἀρχὴν ἀνδρὶ δεινότητι, ἀλλὰ ὅτι ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ.

care, that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common sewers in good order.

(m) The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprizing than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing in the most pathetic terms the deplorable condition, and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment, which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat of Sicily. However, their compassion of the present misfortunes of Sparta carried it against the sense of the former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. (n) Some time after, the deputies of the several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Persia, who continually made instances for its execution.

(o) A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from the dejection of spirit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal distemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, having received aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called *the battle without tears* (p), because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans

(m) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 609—613. (n) Ibid. l. vii. p. 613—616.

(o) Plut. in Agesil. p. 614, 615. Xenoph. l. viii. p. 619, 620. (p) Diocl. l. xv. p. 383.

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Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer, that they became insensible to the pleasure of victory: But when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the great officers and magistrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had rose so high.

(g) Philiscus, who had been sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair discussed in that assembly. The Spartans demanded, that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans refusal to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having left considerable sums of money with the Lacedæmonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persians fear or jealousy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.

(r) To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had sent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their side deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negotiation. The battle of Leuctra had spread its fame into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, *This is he, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long since, under its king Agesilaus, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Ecbatana.*

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himself upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and self-love, and to insinuate to his subjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and

(g) Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 381. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

(r) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620—622.

and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambassador, and more simple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was saying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is * common with kings, who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king, how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an useful diversion against those republicks, the perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of Persia, that had lately cost it so many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having pressed Pelopidas, to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, “ That Mæssene should
“ continue free and exempt from the yoke of Sparta; that the
“ Athenian galleys, which were failed to infest the coast of
“ Boeotia, should be recalled, or that war should be declared
“ against Athens; that those who would not come into the
“ league, or march against such as should oppose it, should
“ be attacked first.” All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, Timagoras’s colleague, said loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, *Athen has nothing new to do but to find some other ally.*

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king’s many presents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of those from the Arcadians said on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king’s court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain ostentation, and that the so-much-boasted † Plantain of gold, which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grass-hopper.

OF

* Π-Α 2. βασιλικὴν συνήθειαν.

† It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship, and great value, which people went to see out of curiosity.

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Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office ; which shews that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-four cows, with slaves to take care of them ; as having occasion to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the king's expence, who gave four talents (s) for that service. His colleague Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of presents incensed the Athenians most against Timagoras. For Epicrates, a simple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents, having said, in a full assembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine Archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people to be sent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage ; the assembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But what offended them more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, says Plutarch, they did not duly consider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading, than all the harangues and the rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors ; especially with a prince, accustomed to caresses, and comply with, the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not sorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messene ; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre, where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition of the Thebans against Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. I shall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court.

Sæc.

(s) Four thousand crowns.

BOOK VI. PELOPIDAS marches against ALEXANDER of Phœnix, and reduces him to reason. He goes to Macedonia, and brings PELOPIDAS into Theffaly, is false to his trust, and made a prisoner. PELOPIDAS gains a victory against the tyrant, and is honoured with extraordinary honours paid to his memory. The glorious end of ALEXANDER.

(1) **T**HE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens for many years had lorded it over all Greece in conjunction or separately, had inspired some of their hours with the desire of supplanting these cities, and birth to the hope of succeeding them in the pre-eminent power had rose up in Theffaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Phœnix, had been declared liftime of the Theffalians by the consent of the people province; and it was to his merit, universally known, that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot out reckoning the light-armed soldiers, and might have taken any thing with such a body of disciplined and troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and of their general. But death prevented his designs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction. His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Phœnix, who seized the tyranny, under the pretext of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against Pelopidas was sent.

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Theffaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the Athenians sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He set out from Theffaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He endeavoured by mild usage and friendship to change his disposition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a just humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of ample brutality, and hearing new complaints every-day

(1) A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370. Xenoph. l. vi. c. 549—553, 1601. Diod. l. xv. p. 371—373. A. M. 3635. Ant. J. C. 371

truelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left issue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by * Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see the most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an end to all disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes; to shew the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to establish himself upon the throne; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side. At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promised in the most solemn manner to hold the town only as guardian to the son of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans; and in security of his engagements, he gave his son

Philoxenus

* Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy, which does not agree with Æschines's account (Is. Fall. Legat. p. 400.) of the affairs of Perdiccas after Alexander's death,

which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was their cotemporary, I thought it proper to substitute Perdiccas to Alexander.

Philoxenus and fifty other children; who were delivered him, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed, that they had sent the greater part of their effects, with their wives and children, into the city of Pharfalus, and conceived that a fair opportunity for revenge of them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Thessalian troops, and marched to Pharfalus; he was scarce arrived before Alexander the tyrant came to him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, to him with only Ismenias in his company, without any caution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious and as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, prevent him from attempting any thing against his person was mistaken; for the tyrant, facing them alone and unaided, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharfalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion (x). There is in the commerce of men, says he, certain assurances, and as it were ties of mutual confidence upon which one may reasonably rely: Such are the sacred oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the consistency of the past conduct of those whom one treats: When, notwithstanding these motives of confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a crime. But to trust one's self to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable instance of error and temerity.

(y) So black a perfidy filled Alexander's subjects with distrust, who very much suspected, that after so flagrant an injustice, and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare no man, and would look upon himself upon all occasions, and in all sorts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no caution as to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incensed at so vile an insult, immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and as they were directed with Epaminondas, upon the groundless suspicion of his having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in the expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the publick good extinguished all resentment

(x) Lib. viii. p. 512. l. xv. p. 382, 383. (y) Plut. in Pelop. 293. Diod. l. xv. p. 382, 383.

* A city of Thessaly.

of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour, or personal discontent.

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pheræ, and made known of him to all the world at first, imagining that such a man would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant should be punished. He caused them to be told, that it was imprudent as unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, to spare his life, who, he knew, would no sooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant, astonished at his greatness of soul, sent to ask him, why he took so much pains for death? *It is,* returned the glorious prisoner, *that thou mayest perish the sooner by being still detestable to the gods and men.*

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should speak to him. But Thebé his wife, the daughter of a king, who had also been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had a curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not refuse her his permission (x). He loved her dearly (if a tyrant may be said to love any body :) But notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and with a perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and sending some of his guard to search every corner for concealed poniards. Wretched prince, cries Cicero, who can confide more in a slave and a Barbarian, than in his own

Thebé therefore desiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a wretched condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at a sight, *Ab unfortunate Pelopidas,* said she, *how I lament your wife! No,* Thebé, replied he, *it is yourself you should pity, who can suffer such a monster as Alexander without being a prisoner.* Those words touched Thebé to the quick; for with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence going often to see Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries he suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband,

(x) Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.

husband, whilst hatred and the
her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Theffaly, nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harassed them fully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole had been defeated, if the soldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, at the head of the ca- him the command, Epaminon- das, at the head of the ca- and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, times sustaining the enemy's at- tacks, and sometimes charging them in his turn, he completely preserved the Boeotians. The generals upon their were each of them fined ten thousand drachmas*, and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the publick got his sole view, he overlooked the the injurious treatment an of affront which he had received, and had a full ame the glory that attended so generous and disinterested a

Some days after he marched at the head of the army Theffaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. spread already both terror and joy through the whole of terror amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very m Epaminondas dismayed, and joy amongst the people, in assurance of being speedily delivered from the yoke of ranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might done, chose rather to protract it; from the apprehension the tyrant, if reduced to despair, like a wild beast, would his whole rage upon his prisoner. For he knew the v and brutality of his nature, which would hearken nei reason nor justice; and that he took delight in buryk alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears on boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he sho to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports i versions. In the cities of Melibœa and Scortusæ, whic in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the el and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he the throats of all their young to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the t and sent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any

ion upon that account; for that his leaving the place was from any discontent in regard to him, but because he was moved to let the citizens see him weep the misfortunes of Helen and Andromache, who had cut so many of their throats without any compassion.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of shame at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he had haste to dispatch persons to him with apologies for his fault. Epaminondas could not suffer that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days, and after having expelled Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

1) Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Phæra soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Pthia, Achæa, and Thessalonica. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a loan of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose a thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself to the Thebans alone, and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers, and the opinion of most wise and judicious.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, in resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebes' wife had said, and he himself knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding aid in divisions in his court, and an universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself. For his sole desire and ambition was to save all Greece, that at the same time the Lacedæmonians sent generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor,

the greater number.

Near a place called Cynocephalus, there were very steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. They were in motion to seize that post with their foot, but Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, and whilst they were upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the top of the hills, having outstript the Thessalians; and rudely such as endeavoured to force those heights and ascents, he killed the foremost, and repulsed the others. Their wounds obliged them to give way. Pelopidas, seeing this, called his horse, and giving them orders to attack the foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who fought on the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry, and in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his soldiers and courage in such a manner, as made the enemy themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported three charges with great resolution: But finding Pelopidas' infantry continually gaining ground, and that his cavalry returned from the pursuit to support them, they began to give way, and retired slowly, still making head in the rear. Pelopidas, seeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great disorder, he stopped a moment, looking about every where for Alexander.

As soon as he perceived him upon his right wing

rd's upon the spot. The rest continuing the fight at a distance, ced his arms and breast at length with their javelins. The effalians, alarmed at the danger in which they saw him, de all the haste they could from the tops of the hills to his stance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The in- try and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the my's main body, put them to flight, and pursued them a at way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more n three thousand of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a summate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally demned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and deance. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares lf where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it essary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have y thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the per remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself he danger of being cut off, and of causing the loss of his y by his death.

b) Euripides, after having said in one of his pieces, that it ighly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the ory by taking care of his own life, adds, *that if it be necessary, him to die, it must be when he resigns his life into the hands of tue*; to signify, that only virtue, not passion, anger, or enge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first y of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.

c) It is in this sense the saying of Timotheus is so just and uable. When Chares shewed the Athenians the wounds he d received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced, ough with a pike: *And for me, said Timotheus, when I be- ed Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as ving exposed myself like a young man without necessity, and more, was consistent for the general of so great an army.* Hannibal tainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been cb- ved, that in the great number of battles which he fought, never received any wound, except only at the siege of pantum.

It is therefore not without reason that Pelopidas is reproached, h having sacrificed all his other virtues to his valour, by such rodigality of his life, and with having died rather for him- than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death nged the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound ace and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army,

(b) Plut. in Pelop. p. 317.

(c) Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

for their preservation ; and that honourable privilege
be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the
fiction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For says
the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of
which may be imposed by the publick authority
people, are not always certain proofs of their real
The tears which flow in private as well as publick, th
expressed equally by great and small, the praises give
general and unanimous voice to a person who is no m
from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidenc
be questioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue
were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion,
more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopi
resolved to avenge him. A small army of seven
foot and seven hundred horse were immediately sent
Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered t
of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself.
obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had tal
them, and to give the Magnesians, Pthians, and A
their liberty, to withdraw his garrisons from their coun
to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and
their orders against all their enemies.

Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, says P
did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned
crimes : They had reserved one for him worthy of a

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a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding rce, and knew nobody but his master, Thebé, and the we who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being rived, Thebé shut up her brothers during the day-time, in an artment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebé went out presently after, and ordered the ue to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her isband's repose; and lest the ladder should make a noise when r brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with ol. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ead, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the or, were seized with terror, and would go no further. Thebé, ite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did e proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. heir shame and fear re-activated them: She made them ter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst y killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death a immediately spread through the city. His dead body was posed to all sort of outrages, trampled under foot by the ople, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures; a just vard for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

CT. VII. EPAMINONDAS is chosen general of the Thebans. His second attempt against Sparta. His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and character.

THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every ing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had ung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The ople of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and ple of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were sides several other allies on each side. The former gave aminondas the command of their troops, who immediately ared Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to at- ck the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance withebes to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his ny, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed an enter- ize, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and irectly reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the VOL. IV. M night

d) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 642—644. Plut. Agesil. p. 615. Diod. p. 391, 392.

night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and directly to Sparta by a different rout from that of Agesilaus would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprise, as neither walls, defence, nor troops: But happily for Sparta, Cretan having made all possible haste to apprise Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to give the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrive soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without a contest. (e) He therefore made his troops advance, and in the use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city in several quarters, penetrated as far as the publick place, seized that part of Sparta which lay upon the side of the Eurotas, Agesilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had to use all of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the ardour of despair; means which he had never used, nor placed confidence in before, but which he employed with great success in the present dangerous emergency. For by this happy and prudent audacity, he in a manner snatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His son Archidamus, the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his small troop of men, he made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the person, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor cloaths on his body, which shone with oil, and held a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. In this condition he quitted his house with the utmost eagerness, and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all to flight who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself. Whether the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him, on account of his extraordinary valour, it is said the Spartans decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his

its, but afterwards fined him a thousand drachmas (f) for being exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas having failed of his aim, foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly haste to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces on his hands at the same time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

(g) That general considering his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight, his reputation might suffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for battle.

The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the center, and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the center. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be too much saved in great enterprises.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills with his left wing foremost, as he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over against them at a quarter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if designed to encamp there. The enemy in effect were deceived by that stand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to extinguish, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

Epaminondas however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the

M 2

from

(f) Five hundred livres,

(g) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 645—647.

than victorious, neglected to pursue their success in the same manner, and returned to their former post.

Whilst this passed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broke and obliged to fly. After having dispersed and repulsed them in this manner, instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were ready to turn tail, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reserve, seeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the spur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who expected nothing so little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied themselves, and instead of going to the assistance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the sword.

After these different movements, and this alternative of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still and rested upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians however sent first to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle to the reader's attention, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monsieur Follard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the master-piece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would
 expire.





as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it: the words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and pain, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man about to die, and to die without issue. For him, the only wish he expressed, was about his arms, and the success of battle. When they shewed him his shield, and assured that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards friends with a calm and serene air; "Do not regard," he said, "this day as the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happiness, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of servitude. For the rest, I do not reckon that I die without issue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, and to transmit it to posterity." Having spoke to effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may truly be said, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero * seems to rank above all the glorious men Greece ever produced. † Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; so Thebes, having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be vitiated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that was not distinguished by any memorable action, and afterwards, it was not famous for its virtues but misfortunes, till it fell into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory take its end, and expire with this great man.

It has been || doubted whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He fought not power for himself, but for his country; and was so perfectly void of self-interest, that at his death, he was not worth the expences of his funeral. He was a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches,

M 4

without

Epaminondas, princeps, meo iure
Græciæ. Acad. Quæst. i. i.

Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem
perieris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi
habes; sic illo velut mucrone teli
ducto Thebanorum, rei quoque
vires hebetatæ sunt: ut non
illum amisisse, quam cum illo
interfuisse viderentur. Nam
hunc ante ducem ullum me-
tile bellum gessere, nec postea
vires, sed claudibus, insignes fu-

ere: ut manifestum sit, patriæ glo-
riam & natam & extinctam cum eo
fuisse. Justin. l. vi. c. 8.

|| Fuit incertum, vir melior an
dux esset. Nam imperium non sibi
semper sed patriæ quæsitum; & pe-
cuniæ adco parvus fuit, ut sumptus
funeri defuerit. Gloriæ quoque non
cupidiore, quam pecuniæ; quippe re-
cusantia omnia imperia ingesta sunt,
honoresque ita gessit, ut ornamentum
non accipere, sed dare ipsi dignitas
videretur. Justin.

without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him, and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns (*b*) in his name. That rich man coming to his house, to know his motive for directing his friend to him upon such an errand; (*c*) *Why*, replied Epaminondas, *it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich* *.

He had † cultivated those generous and noble sentiments in himself by the study of polite learning and philosophy, which he had made his usual employment and sole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was surprizing, and a question frequently asked, how, and at what time, it was possible for a man, always busy amongst books, to attain, or rather seize, the knowledge of the art military in so great a degree of perfection. Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned publick employments, and made no interests but to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure and almost unknown. His merit however discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated that philosophy, though generally in contempt with those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes. For besides its being a great advance towards conquering the enemy, to know how to conquer one's self, in this school || anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due discharge of them, what we owe our country, the right use of authority, wherein true courage consists; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.

He

(b) *A talent.*

(i) Plut. de præcept. reipub. ger. p. 809.

* Ὅτι ἀπορίῃς ἵκεν, ἐν ᾧ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ σὺ δὲ πλούσιος.

Scientia homini inter literas nata Justin.

† Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam insignis militiæ

|| The works of Plato, Xenophen, and Aristotle are proofs of this.

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind : He had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and of which, he knew not what it was to be ostentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, *(k)* that he never had met with a man, who knew more, and spoke less.

It may be said therefore of Epaminondas, that he falsified the proverb, which treated the Bœotians as gross and stupid. This was their common * characteristick, and was imputed to the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtlety of the air they breathed. Horace says, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste of poetry, one would swear him a true Bœotian.

Bœotum in crasso jurares aere natum. Epist. i. l. 2.
In thick Bœotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination to musick, he thought fit to make this excuse ; *It is for Thebans † to sing as they do, who know not how to speak.* Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit, which results from elevation of genius, and the study of science.

I shall conclude his portrait and character with a circumstance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in some sense be preferred to them, as it expresses a good heart, and a tender and sensible spirit ; qualities very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and seem almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the support and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece ; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain that ever was

M 5 in

(k) Plut. de audit. p. 39.

* Inter locorum naturas quantum
interfit, videmus—Athenis tenue cœ-
lum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur

Attici ; crassum Thebis, itaque pin-
ques Thebani. Cic. de Fato, n. 7.

† They were great musicians.

in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor, Epaminondas, little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, (*l*) *My joy, said he, arises from my sense of that, which the news of my victory will give my father and mother*

Nothing in history seems so valuable to me as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither false glory nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a disgrace to them to express for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have so fine an example from a pagan.

Until Epaminondas's time, two cities had exercised alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished pre-eminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals and especially of Pausanias, soon lost it. The Athenians, in the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank, but in a manner scarce discernible in any other respect, than their care in quitting themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the true method of commanding and of continuing their power, was to evidence their superiority only by services and benefactions. These times, glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years continuance and they retained a part of that pre-eminence during twenty-seven years of the Peloponnesian war, which make all the seventy-two, or seventy-three years, which Demosthenes gives to the duration of their empire (*m*): But for this last space of time, the Greeks, disgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedaemonians became again the arbiters of Greece and continued so from the time Lyander made himself master of Athens, until the first war undertaken by the Athenians after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, who was now grown more insolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a single man, saw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of E-

minond

(*l*) Plut. in Coriol. p. 215.

(*m*) Demost. Philipp. iii. p. 89.

minondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the preheminance granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a preheminance of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independance in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice, and established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any motive of personal discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius (n). He attributes the wise conduct of the Athenians, in the times I speak of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A vessel without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one insists upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other measures. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is saved, and in a state of security. But if the tempest ceases, and when the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if on one side they loose their sails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in the port. This, says Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republick. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wise counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too insolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes.

Sect. VIII. *Death of EVAGORAS king of Salamin. N
CLES succeeds him. Admirable character of that pr.*

(6) **T**HE third year of the 101st Olympiad, soon after Thebans had destroyed Plataea and Thespize, a been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamin in the island of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the preceding June, was assassinated by one of his eunuchs. His son CLES succeeded him. He had a fine model before him, the person of his father; and he seemed to make it his duty entirely intent upon treading in his steps (p). When he took possession of the throne, he found the publick treasures exhausted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of I. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the re-establishment of the laws; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscations. The publick felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a economy in the administration of his revenue. (q) "I am not," said he, "that no citizen can complain that I have done him the least wrong, and I have the satisfaction to know, that I have enriched many with an unexpended hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be valuable, is permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a nation.

(r) He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in private life; I mean intemperance. It is most amiable, very difficult, manly and a fortress, to which every other virtue, and every human pleasure, armed with all her arts and stratagems, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, to prevent his defence, to make a long resistance against the violence and intemperance of her soft assaults. Nicagoras, in having never known any woman besides his daughter his wife, and was amazed that all other mortal creatures should be moved with due regard, whilst the marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations,

(p) A. H. 660. Ant. J. C. 362. B. C. 362. (q) Herodotus, l. i. c. 10. (r) B. C. 362. Ant. J. C. 362.

ake through with impunity ; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which could their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the most anguish and despair.

What I have said of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, crates puts into that prince's own mouth ; and it is not probable that he should make him speak in such a manner, if his auditor had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to them the duties of subjects to their princes ; love, respect, obedience, fidelity, and devotion to his service ; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not disdain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

(s) In another discourse, which precedes this, Isocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that

the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment of cares inseparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they

frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice ; whereas the generosity of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and unactive life, should set apart proper time for business and the publick affairs, should form

a council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity, and especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father.

“ Persist,” said he, “ in the religion you have received from your fore-fathers, but be assured that the most grateful adoration and sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of the heart, in rendering yourself good and just, Shew, upon all occasions, so high a regard for truth, that a single word from you may be more confided in than the oath of others. Be a warrior, by your ability in military affairs, and by such a warlike provision as may intimidate your enemies ; but let your inclinations be pacifick, and be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or undertaking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof that you have

“ reigned

reigned well, will be the power of bearing this testimony of yourself; that your people are become both more brave and more wise, under your government."

What seems to me most remarkable in this discourse, is the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause more for the prince's than the writer's praise. Nicoch from being offended at these counsels, received them with and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns (1).

SECT. IX. ARTAXERXES MNEMON undertakes the reducing Egypt. IPHICRATES the Athenian is appointed general of the Arabian troops. The enterprize miscarries by the ill conduct of PHARNABAZUS the Persian general.

(u) **A**RTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given very powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took in pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers whom Chabrias had the command (x). He had accepted office without the authority of the republick.

Pharnabazus, having been charged with this war, sent an Athenian to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to fight against his master, and threatened the republick with the loss of her liberties, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was reckoned upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the King's friendship, recalled Chabrias and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. (y) Achoris king of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Plammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephretitus was

(1) Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 838. (u) Diocl. l. xv. p. 328, & 347.

(x) Cor. & rep. in Chab. & in Iphic. (y) Euseb. in Chron.

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next, and four months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

(x) Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors thither, to declare to the several states, that the king's intent was they should all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

(a) At length, every thing being in a readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acæ, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. The forces at sea were in proportion to those at land; their fleet consisting of three hundred galleys,* besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called Mendesium. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two * remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort with a good garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After this signal action, Iphicrates thought it adviseable to re-embark upon the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panick, into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been

(x) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

(a) *Ibid.*

* 358, 359.

Damietta and Rosetta.

been re-conquered. But the gross of the army not being arrived, Pharnabatus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decisive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently, and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he made pressing instances for permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabatus refused to comply with that demand, out of abject jealousy; apprehending, that if the enterprize succeeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and humiliated the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, having first lost most of the best part of their troops.

This third expedition, which had cost immense sums, and for which the preparations alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals, who had the command of it. Pharnabatus, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabatus. But well assured that the Persian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, he chose to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabatus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after, the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their fleet.

(6) Most of the projects of the Persian court miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution. Their general hands

nds were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan of conduct in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabazus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and deliberation that could be desired in an accomplished general (c), asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views, and so slow in his actions? *It is,* replied Pharnabazus, *because my views depend only upon me, but their execution is my master's.*

§T. X. *The Lacedæmonians send AGESILAUS to the aid of TACHOS, who had revolted from the Persians. The king of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greatest part of the provinces revolt against ARTAXERXES.*

AFTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's terms, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was restored to each city, and the Messenians included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republic in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which they were exposed of money, of borrowing great sums, and of raising great imposts, instead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

(e) Whilst this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his endeavours to reduce that kingdom.

For

(c) Diod. l. xv. p. 375. (d) Plut. in Agesil. p. 616—618. Diod. l. xv. p. 37—401. (e) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. de reg. Agesil. 63. Cor. Nep. in Agesil. c. viii.

For this purpose, Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occasion to express their resentment. Chabrias went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republic's participation.

This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a Barbarian, who had revolted against his master.

When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals, and the great officers of his house, came to his ship to receive, and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as solicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agesilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestick, either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man of a mean aspect and small body, without any appearance, and dressed in a bad robe of very coarse stuff, they were seized with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surprized at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the sea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himself, which was not the only mortification he had experienced.

Tachos came to a resolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the seat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Agesilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agesilaus was so much incensed at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who

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had taken arms against him during his absence, and had set Nectanebis his * cousin upon the throne. Agesilaus, doing the king, to whose aid he had been sent, and joining the rebel, who had dethroned him, alledged in justification himself, that he was sent to the assistance of the Egyptians; that they, having taken up arms against Tachos, he was at liberty to serve against them without new orders from him. He dispatched expresses thither, and the instructions received, were to act as he should judge most advantageous to his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his army against the rebels.

Agesilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, says Plutarch, remove that delusive veil, the most just and only true name, which can be given to this action, is that of perfidy and treason. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the Glorious and the Good consist principally in the service of that country, which they idolized, and no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. It surprized so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, Agesilaus attached himself to that of the two kings, who loved the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes set on foot himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis. This competitor had an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack him, before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. Nectanebis imagined, that Agesilaus only gave him time to betray him in consequence, as he had done Tachos; therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before his works which were begun were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused his compliance at first, which only augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that

* Diodorus calls him his son; Plutarch, his cousin.

that there remained only as much ground between the ends of the line, as the troops within the city might draw up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in manner, as they might all act together effectively. This was executed according to Agesilaus's expectation; they were beaten, and from henceforth Agesilaus conducted operations of the war with so much success, that the prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

The following winter,* after having well established Nectanebis, he embarked to return to Lacedæmon, and was by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place the port of Menelaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of fourscore and four years. He had reigned forty-one years at Sparta, and of those forty-one, he had passed thirty in reputation of the greatest, and most powerful of all the kings of Greece, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon in his eulogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Agesilaus was carried to Sparta. They were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, the fifth king of the line of Agesilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces, in subjection to Persia, revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildness, and sweetness of temper and character; but that easiness degenerated into sloth and indolence, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he covered a dislike for all business and application, from the good qualities, which he otherwise possessed, as was his beneficent intentions, became useless, and without effect. His nobility and governors of provinces, abusing his favour and infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes,

thing in their power to render the Persian yoke intolerable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long lying, almost at the same time on all sides. Asia minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes, prince of Phrygia, Apollonius, king of Caria, Orontes, governor of Mysia, and Tigranates, governor of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder did not suffice for the expences of a war in which the revolted provinces, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those, who had been first, and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, were also foremost in resuming it, and in betraying the interests of others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Asia minor, on withdrawing from their alliance, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foot soldiers to those of the country, and had charged the same general with the care of raising them. But when he had got money for that service into his hands, with the addition of the king's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Antiochus, another of the chiefs of Asia minor, being sent to Egypt to negotiate succours, committed a treachery of a similar nature. Having brought from that country five hundred ships and fifty ships of war, he assembled the principal leaders at Leucas, a city of Asia minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiation, seized them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus a formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolved of itself, or, to speak more properly, was suspended for some time.

SECT.

Diodorus says he was sent to Tachos; but it is more likely that it was to Antiochus,

II. They were besides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity to govern, and void of it for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to annihilate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of public business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprizes; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the great king, and the king of kings.

III. The great officers of the crown, the government of provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the choice of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the solicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons, who were to fill the most important posts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the state real service to their own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, often out of a base, mean jealousy of the merit that gave them umbrage, and reproached their inabilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. * Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false insinuations, bring them to trial, as criminals against the state, and force the king's most faithful servants, for their defence against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolt, and in turning those arms against their prince, which they had so often made triumph for his glory, and the service of the empire.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependance, restrained them under such limited orders, as obliged them to let slip the occasions of conquering, and prevented them, attending new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, although having let them want every thing necessary to the service.

VI. The Kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with crusts and fallads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to excess: and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have seen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. T

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine, to the Red-sea and Ethiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their exactions, and by the pride and avarice of their *Satraps* or *Governors*; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, make their demands and complaints there, could not hope find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the jests of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia, did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and an enforced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and dependent, of whom some who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongst them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not affect a government, that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vassal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding absolutely, and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great repugnance

they submitted to be removed from their government often endeavoured to support themselves in them by arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of the army, and all the other officers and ministers, thought it too honour to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveable habits, the pomp and splendour of the court in which had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, furnish out expenses so much above the fortunes of the persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, a shameful traffick of a publick venality, that set these off sale for money, which ought to have been granted on merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted made good by mean hearts, and the violent rapaciousness insatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and abundance of others, remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented impunity, tired the people's patience, and occasioned a general discontent amongst them, the usual forerunner of the ruin. Their just complaints, long time despised, were followed open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was refused to their requests. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission, fidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but Pag did not carry its rights so far, and was not capable of so long a perfection, which was reserved for a religion that to that no pretext, no injustice, no vexation, can ever add the rebellion of a people against their prince.

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

SECT. I. OCHUS *ascends the throne of Persia. His cruelties. Revolt of several nations.*

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, of whom he had made himself the horror by the murder of his two brothers. (i) To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person, to conceal his death from the publick. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of these decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, * taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes. Authors however most frequently give him that of Ochus, by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon explained. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders.

(l) To remove from the revolted provinces all means of setting some other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid him-
self

N 2

(i) Polyæn. Stratag. vii.
 * A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

(l) Justin. l. x. c. 3.

self at once of all trouble, that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death without regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused his own sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; (m) and having shut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because these princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Sisygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: (n) For Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had caused fourscore of her brothers with their father to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, whom he suspected of the least discontent whatsoever.

(o) The cruelties, exercised by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabafus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid defeated an army of seventy thousand men sent by the king to reduce him. Artabafus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace to join their enemies with a numerous army obliged them to recall Chares.

(p) Artabafus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, whom he obtained five thousand men that he took into his pay, with Panmenes to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops, and their commander, great honour. Thebans must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republick was engaged in a war with the Phœaciæns. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. (q) It is certain, that soon after, they made their peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to say, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabafus, destitute of all support, was overcome

(m) Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. (n) Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5. (o) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Diod. l. xvi. p. 433, 434. (p) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 355. (q) Diod. l. xvi. p. 438.

income at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedonia.

Ochus being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt, that had troubled long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation to the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

SECT. II. *War of the allies against the Athenians.*

SOME few years after the revolt of Asia minor, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred and fiftieth Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. They were the last of the Athenian generals, who did honour their country; no one after them being distinguished by wit or reputation.

(1) CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name, when having been sent against the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken flight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their files with one another upon the ground covered with their bucklers, and presented their pikes in front, in such a manner, that they could not be broke, and Agesilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.

IPHICRATES was of a mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truly said to be the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and made very great use of his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; *Yes*, replied he, *the nobility of*

N 3

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(r) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.
Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperii Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabrias, Timothei: neque post illorum

(s) Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. i.
obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria. Cor. Nep. in Timot. c. iv.

ne, unde, tibi in me: Tunc of yours ends in you. He is the daughter of Coys, King of Thrace.

(c) He is * ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several useful alterations in the soldiers' armour for him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and, for reason, were too great a burden, and extremely trouble. He had made them shorter and lighter, so that, without paining the body, they added to its force and agility. Contrary, he lengthened the pike and sword, to make it easier of reaching the enemy at a greater distance. He changed the cuirasses, and instead of iron and brass, of steel were made before, he caused them to be made of flint, so easy to conceive how such armour could do much mischief, or be any security against wounds. But that flint soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable to sword or fire. The use of it was common amongst nations.

No troops were ever better exercised or disciplined than of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and of peace and tranquillity, made them perform all the evolutions, either in attacking the enemy, or defending them; in laying ambuscades, or avoiding them; in their march even in the pursuit of the enemy, without relaxing themselves to an ardour which often becomes peevish, or rally with success, after having begun to break away. So that when the battle was to be given, all motion with admirable promptitude and order. The ancient soldiers drew themselves up without any trouble, in the heat of action performed their parts, as the general would have directed them. A merit very to have been informed, but very estimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, as a very uncommon superiority of genius in the general.

Timotheus was the son of Canon, so much celebrated his great actions, and the important services he had to his country. † He did not degenerate from his father's station, either for his merit in the field, or his abil-

(c) Diod. l. xv. p. 36c. Cor. Nep. in Iphic. c. i.

* Iphicrates Atheniensis, non tam in commendatione rerum gestarum, quam in disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum ætatis sue cum primis compararetur, sed ne de maioribus nationibus anteponeatur. *Cor. Nep.*
† Hic à patre acceptus multis auxit virtutibus. *Idem.*

of the state; but he added to those excellencies, which results from the talents of the mind, having himself particularly by the gift of eloquence, and sciences.

He obtained at first ever experienced less than himself the fortune of war. He had only to undertake, to accomplish it. Success perpetually attended his desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite envy. Those who envied him, as I have already said, wished him to be painted asleep, with Fortune by his side, and Victory for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, *as in my sleep, what shall I do when I am awake?* He grew afterwards more seriously, and angry with those who sought to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in public that he did not owe his success to fortune, but to that goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride, she abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was unsuccessful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed by the allies.

The war and the campaign opened with the siege of Miletus, which was commanded the land, and Chabrias the sea. The allies exerted themselves in sending aid to that general. Chabrias, having forced the passage, entered the port, and defeated all the endeavours of the enemy. The other generals were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was surrounded on all sides, and his vessel exceedingly exposed to the assaults of the enemy. He might have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as his soldiers, from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it was with the duty of a general to abandon his vessel in preference to a death, glorious in his sense, to flight.

His attempt having miscarried, both sides applied themselves busily to making new preparations. The Athenians sent a fleet of sixty galleys, and appointed Chares to command armed sixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The allies consisted of an hundred sail. After having seized several islands belonging to the Athenians, they made a great booty, they sat down before Samos.

N. 4

The

IIa. p. 454. (x) Diod. l. xvi. p. 412. Cor. Nep. in Chab.

neque minds civitatis
Nep. c. i.
Cononis filius, cum
inferior fuisset quam

pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ & ingenii gloriam adjecit. Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 116.

The Athenians on their side, having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, prepared to fight, when suddenly a violent storm arose, notwithstanding which, Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than him, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the soldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, ostentatious, and full of himself; one who exaggerated his own services, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of successes. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, * capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to a trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of an hundred talents †; a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shewn upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents ‡ of booty taken from the enemy, without the least deduction for himself. He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city, and being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently odd, those very walls, which his grandfather had rebuilt with the spoils of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

(y) Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges. It was upon this occasion, that Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence an established reputation inspires, asked him, *Would you have committed a treason of this nature?* No, replied Aristophon, *I am a man of too much honour for such an action!* How! replied Iphicrates, *could Iphicrates do what Aristophon would not do?*

He

(y) Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.

* Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis
adversarius, invidus etiam potentiae,
donum revocat. Cor. Nep.

† An hundred thousand crowns.
‡ Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

(α) He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms. Instructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they assembled a number of young persons, armed with poniards, which they took care to shew from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding; *I had been a fool, indeed, said he, if having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself.*

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left sole general of the whole army, and was in a condition to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificent offers of Artabafus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia minor against the king of Persia his master, besieged by an army of seventy thousand men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabafus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. The action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republick for a foreign war, but offended the king of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The credit of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before on like occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse (α), which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning himself blindly to the insinuations of orators, who flatter their passions, whilst they treat those with contempt, who give them the most salutary counsels. He applied himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of

N 5

Greece,

(α) *Polyæn. Strateg. l. iii.*(α) *De pace, seu socialia.*

Greece, and compares them with the present sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had successively plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state," says he, "cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its measures the two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes it; so justice, when unarmed and without power, is exposed to injury, and neither in a condition to defend itself, nor protect others." The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning, is, That Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcilable enemies of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

* The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions, and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chios, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner after having continued three years.

SECT. III. DEMOSTHENES encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of ALEXANDER for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of NIAUCOLUS. Extraordinary grief of ARTEMISA his wife.

(b) THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage, and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens

* A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. (b) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourse to their arms, to prevent the king of Persia by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in publick at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. I shall speak more extensively of him by and by. Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republick of the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail (in what manner he proposed a * scheme) and to hold the troops in a readiness and condition to make an effectual and vigorous defence, in case of being attacked; that by so doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be sufficiently apprized of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting he should have formed any designs against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion, that it was necessary to levy any immediate tax upon the estates of private persons for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better," said he, "to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the citizens. Our city may be said to be almost as rich as all the other cities of Greece together," (He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to six thousand talents, about eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) "When we shall see the reality and approach of the danger, every body will be ready to contribute to the expences of the war; as nobody can be so void of reason, as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to

N 6

"facri.

* I reserve this scheme for the seventh section, being curious, and very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out, and justified their fleets.

“sacrificing a small part of it to their own, and their country’s preservation.

“And we ought not to fear, as some people would insinuate, that the great riches of the king of Persia enabled him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, and render his army formidable against us. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, or Orontes and the other Barbarians, serve willingly under the Persians; but not one of them, I dare be assured, not a single man of them, will ever resolve to bear arms against Greece.”

This discourse had all its effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining, at the same time, that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other foundation than in the over-heated imagination of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

(f) Two years after, an enterprize of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity to signalize his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: The other people concerned sent also their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

(g) Demosthenes founded his discourse from the beginning of it upon this principle; that it was of the last importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the rest of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preserve so necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilst the Arcadians

(f) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. l. xv. p. 401. Crat. pro Megalop.

(g) Demost.

dians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes, was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, said the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in such a manner with the times, or is it consistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought" (replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place) "we * ought indeed always to have justice in view, and to make it the rule of our conduct; but, at the same time, our conformity to it should consist with the publick good and the interest of the state. It has been a perpetual maxim with us to assist the oppressed." (He cites the Lacedæmonians themselves, the Thebans and Eubœans as examples.). "We have never varied from this principle The reproach of changing therefore ought not to fall upon us, but upon those, whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to declare against them."

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determine them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states, is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

(b) The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of † Pammenes. Megalopolis was re-instated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been

(b) Diod. l. xv. p. 402.

* ἡ δὲ σωτηρία μὴν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν συμπαρονομαστὴν δὲ, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς ῥυθνῆται ταῦτα.

† This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publicly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. (1) Artemisa his wife succeeded him, and as she was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

In speaking here of Artemisa, it is proper to observe, that she must not be confounded with another Artemisa, who lived above an hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished her resolution and prudence so much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error through inadvertency.

(2) This princess immortalized herself by the honour she rendered to the memory of Mausolus her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the *Mausoleum*, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of *Mausoleum* to all future great and magnificent structures of the same kind.

(3) She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments, which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but are often no better proof against the ravages of time, I mean works of wit. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and prepared a piece of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus, his disciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in publick of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the fame of fine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history as a prince most fondly avaricious, to whom all means of amassing treasure were good and eligible. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyrick, or else he would never have pleased the prince.

(4) That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, than that I have been speaking of. Having gathered his

(1) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 354. Diocl. l. xvi. p. 435. (2) Plin. l. xxxi. c. 6. (3) Ant. Græc. l. x. c. 12. Phot. in Isocrat. p. 336. (4) Cic. Tule. Quæst. l. iii. p. 75. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 6.

ashes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drank it all off; desiring by that means to make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of tears, in which most writers plunge Artemisa during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. (n) It appears by one of Demosthenes's orations, that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have something more decisive upon this head. (o) Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen being informed of their design, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express by shouts and clapping of hands a readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the publick place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemisa came out with her galleys from the little port through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemy's fleet without resistance, and having put her soldiers and mariners on board of it, she set sail. The Rhodians, having no means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shout, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was so in effect, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemisa, having met with no resistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She had caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisa, branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they surrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being seen.

All this, as Monsieur Bayle observes in his Dictionary, does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that whatever is reported of excessive in the mourning

(n) Demost. de Libertat. Rhod. p. 145.
c. 8.

(o) Vitruv. de Architect. l. ii.

mourning of Artemisa, has no other foundation, but its being advanced at a venture by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisa, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex has many examples, she had known how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation.

(p) *Negetia pro solatis accipiens.*

(q) The Rhodians being treated by Artemisa in the manner we have related, and unable to support any longer so severe and shameful a servitude, they had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with setting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy; he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation, and it might have been thought was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: But all this was only the art of the orator, to insinuate himself into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of goodness and compassion for a people, who acknowledge their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republick's protection. He sets before them the great maxims, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest; in shewing the importance of declaring for a city, that favoured the democratick form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes: Which is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, intitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians.*

(r) The death of Artemisa, which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idriæus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had done Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECT.

(p) Tacit. (q) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. Demost. de Libert. Rhod. (r) Suab. l. xiv. p. 656.

ECT. IV. *Successful expedition of OCHUS against Phœnicia and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.*

OCHUS meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to his obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independance. Whilst he was making great reparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phœnicia. (s) That people oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phœnicia, this revolt was very reasonable for Nectanebis, who therefore sent Mento the Rhodian to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and stop the Persians there. The Phœnicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia, that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phœnicia.

(s) The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, seeing the good success which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent order to Idrizus king of Caria, to make war against them; who soon after fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Xochion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the son of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he had there, made the king of Persia chuse him very wisely to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army encreased to double its number by the reinforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the siege of Salamin by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, considerable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were however subjects to Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus,

* A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. (s) Diod. l. xvi. p. 439. (r) Ibid. 440, 441.

Ochus, having observed that the Egyptian war was always unsuccessful from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, he resolved to take the care of it upon himself. But before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprize, that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

From the miscarriage of the enterprize against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and silver a more proper means for subjeeting it than that of the sword, the Persians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of secret intrigues. They conveyed considerable sums into it privately, to corrupt the persons of credit and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means to invade themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance amongst them, which put it out of the power of any of those republics to aggrandize itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all war to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe an universal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, to such as should disobey. Persia, without doubt, did not take that resolution at a venture, and had its reasons to behave in such a manner with regard to Greece.

Its design might be to soften their spirit by degrees, in disarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour, which spurred them on perpetually by noble emulation; to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inaction and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardour, which combats and even dangers are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia who then reigned had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person

person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, as numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the intestine divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia especially, and its neighbouring provinces. Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprizes (u)

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phœnicia, where he had an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus, to make him offers not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but to serve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and they surrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all hope of any other security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in the despair of their condition, they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having no farther occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich.

The

The fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cinders for a considerable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city cast so great a terror into the rest of Phœnicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king; Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he would not lose the time there, he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greek. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excused themselves from furnishing him any at that time; it being impossible for them to do it, whatever desire they might have, as they said, to cultivate a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Lachares: The Argives three thousand under Nicostatus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

(x) The Jews must have had some share in this war of the Phœnicians against Persia; for Sidon was no sooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and besieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into Hyrcania, where he settled them along the coast of the Caspian sea.

(y) Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely engrossed his attention, that in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be re-instated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, and that he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was seized, and put to death. Surprising difference between Nicocles and his son Evagoras!

(z) After the reduction of the isle of Cyprus, and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.
Upon

(x) Solin. c. xxxv. E. lib. in Chron. &c.
(z) Ibid. p. 444, &c. 456.

(y) Diod. l. xvi. p. 443.

on his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian with equal authority. The first was under Darchares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second was given to Nicosthratus the Athenian, and Aristazanes one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's favourites, at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events, and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might have.

Nectanebis had long expected this invasion, the preparations which had made so much noise. He had an hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thousand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Lybians, and the rest of Egyptian troops. Of them he bestowed in the places upon the frontiers, and distributed himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's passage into Egypt. Ochus's first detachment was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Darchares besieged the place. That under Nicosthratus, consisted of four-and-twenty ships of the Persian fleet, entered one by one the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves well in a camp, of which the situation was very advantageous. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the isle of Rhodes, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias with five thousand of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broke and dispersed.

This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicosthratus after this victory would embark upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that guarded Pelusium, were apprized of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated with Darchares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the way clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having received a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus

(a) Nectanebis, having lost all hope of being able to himself, escaped with his treasures and best effects into Persia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of the Egyptian race, since whom it has continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel (b).

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in the year 404, dismantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and carried in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially gold and silver, of which he carried away immense quantities. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Persian of a weak quality.

(c) Here Manethon finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had wrote the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, to whom he dedicated his work, of which * Syncellus has preserved us the abridgement.

Nectanebis lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agesilaus afterwards supported in it by the valour and counsels of Clearchus the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedaemonian, whilst they had the command of his troops. and the

nough to repent his error, and to discover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

(d) Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phœnicia, and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he dismissed the other Greeks laden with his presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of an hundred * talents in money, besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coast of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalissimo of all his armies on that side.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabafus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabafus, and the victories he obtained over the king's troops. He was however overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience; some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew so well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and reinstated the king's affairs in those provinces.

(e) In the first year of the 108th Olympiad died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.

SECT.

(d) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349. (e) A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.

* *An hundred thousand crowns.*

SECT. V. *Death of Ochus. Arkes succeeds him, and is deposed by DARIUS CODOMANUS.*

(f) **O**CHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and re-
of the revolted provinces of his empire, aba-
himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest
life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers.
two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and
the Rhodian, who divided all power between them, so
first had all the provinces of the upper, and the latter, a
of the lower Asia under him.

(g) After having reigned twenty-three years, Ochus
of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was
born an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country
and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered
flattered himself, that it would have been in his power to
softened the destiny of the one, and protected the other
infant. But he could not restrain the brutality of his
who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which
eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently re-
in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having dismantled the cities,
pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had he
taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were
pointed, and kept with religious care in the temples of
Egyptians, and in the derision of their worship, he had
the god Apis to be killed, that is, the sacred bull which
adored under that name. What gave occasion for this
action was, (i) that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he
cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities,
given him the shocking surname of the stupid animal,
found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, he
said that he would make them sensible he was not an ass
a lion, and that the ass, whom they despised so much, should
eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged
of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he
his cooks dress, and serve him up to the officers of his household.
This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives
redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the place
where it was the custom to keep them: But the affront, which
had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is
believed, that was the real occasion of his master's death.

(f) *Diod. l. xvi. p. 490.*

(g) *A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 333.*

(h) *Atlian. l. iv. c. 8.*

(i) *Plut. de Mul. & Vir. p. 364.*

4) His revenge did not stop there, he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's, and to avenge his having let the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster ancient resentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his barbarity so far in regard to his father and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, but he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty.

perceiving that the young prince began to discover his weakness, and took measures to punish it, he prevented him from having him assassinated, and destroyed his whole family with

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be said hereafter.

We see here in a full light the sad effect of the ill policy of the kings of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of public business, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the king, and thereby merit some distinction. It is the duty of a prince to distinguish merit; but it is as consistent for him to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, that had made the greatest mistakes his steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in perfidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he been able to have nothing to fear from him, he should not have been so imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him unlimited power.

SECT. VI. *Abridgment of the life of DEMOSTHENES to his appearance with honour and applause in the publick assemblies against PHILIP of Macedon.*

AS Demosthenes will have a great part in the history of Philip and Alexander, which will be the subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military virtue could have done.

(*l*) That orator, born * two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourscore before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty smoaky blacksmith, as † Juvenal would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are an higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. (*m*) Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth an hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the ancients consisted in slaves. Those forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or an hundred livres (*n*).

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents (*c*). He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of sordid and avaricious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil's masters the reward due to them: So that he was not educated with the care, which so excel-

(*l*) A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. Plut. in Demost. p. 847—849.

(*m*) In Orat. i. cont. Aphob. p. 896. (*n*) About 41. 121.

(*o*) Fourteen hundred crowns.

* The fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad.

† Quem pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus,
A carbone & forcipibus, gladiosque parente
Incute, & luteo Vulcano ad rhetoræ mixta.

Two. Liv. Sc. 10.

ellent a genius as his required ; besides which, the weakness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother that doated upon him, prevented masters from obliging him to apply much to his studies.

The school of Isocrates *, in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens.

Whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high (p), or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste, at that time he studied under Isæus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He found means however to get the principles of rhetorick taught by the former : Plato in reality contributed the most in forming Demosthenes ; he read his works with great application, and received much from him also ; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

q) But he soon quitted the schools of Isæus and Plato for the bar, under a different kind of direction ; I mean, to frequent the bar, of which this was the occasion. The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Boeotia and Attica. Chabrias, having dissuaded the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting so great a service, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. (r) Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made a great noise in the city. (s) Demosthenes, who was then sixteen years of age, earnestly entreated his masters to carry him with them to the trial, that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours, which he saw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it

O 2 exercises

p) *Abus 221. 101.* (q) *Aul. Gel. l. iii. c. 13.* (r) *Demost. in Ant. p. 613.* (s) *A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 365.*

Isocrates — cujus è ludo, tantum ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. *De Orat. n. 94.*
[Lectitavisse Platonem studiosè, avisse etiam, Demosthenes dicitur : ne apparet ex genere & granditate]

sermonis. *Cic. in Brut. n. 121.*
Illud jusjurandum, per caesos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores. Reip. satis manifestè docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse. *Quint. l. xii. c. 10.*

exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects, and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and during the continuance of Callistratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learnt from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He desired him only to repeat some of Sophocles or Euripides's verses to him, which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such grace by the tone, gesture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seemed almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. (7) He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art * he studied begins; and he was so short breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles at length by putting small pebbles into his

his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up steep and difficult places, so that, at last, no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. (x) He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of publick assemblies.

(x) Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in publick. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert in such a manner, that if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means, that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than *Pronunciation*; insinuating, by making that reply * three several times successively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it, and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted so considerable a sum as ten thousand drachmas (y), though he was not very rich.

His application to study was no less surprizing. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he sometimes shut himself up for whole months, shaving

O 3

on

(*) Quintil. l. x. c. 3.
serling.

(x) Ibid. l. xi. c. 3.

(y) *About 240 l.*

* Aſtio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus summus sæpe superare.

Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertius. Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 213.

on purpose half his head and face, that he might not condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of lamp, he composed the admirable orations, which were by those, who envied him, to smell of the oil; to imitate they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yet not cost you so much trouble." * He rose very early morning, and used to say, that he was sorry when any man was at his business before him. (2) We may judge his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history with his own hand, in order to render the stile of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in public and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat thereof the publick affairs; with what success we shall see he tells us that success was so great, that all Greece resorted in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak; and that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that consequence (a); I have enlarged sufficiently upon that effect, I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we believe Philip upon this head, of which he is an evidence of unquestionable authority, (b) the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armaments of the Athenians. His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance again by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his prizes, without its being possible to prevent their effect. "I myself," says Philip of him, "had I been present, I should have heard that vehement orator declaim, should have conceived the first, that it was indispensably necessary to declare against me." No city seemed impregnable to that eloquence, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold. But he confessed, that to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him insensible to his presents. After the battle of Charonea, Philip, victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect

(a) Lucian, *Advers. Indoct.* p. 639. (b) *Art of studying* & *Letters*, Vol. II. (b) Lucian, in *Encom. Demost.* p. 946, 947.

* Qui non sunt auditi? Demosthenes. *Quid agitur? qui dolere se vident, si quando opus est, antelucana videtur eis innotitia.* Tac. *Agast.* l. iv. modo ita memorie proditum ita necesse fuisse, cum Demosthenes dicitur, ut concursu causa, ex tota Græcia habitata, ad 33.

† Ne illud quidem intelligant, non

great danger, to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the sole cause of forming against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

(c) Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. "I value not," said he, "the Piræus, the gallies, and armies of the Athenians: For what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feasts, and Bacchanals? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. Without him the Athenians differ in nothing from the meanest people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouses them from their lethargy and stupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into their hands almost against their will: Incessantly representing to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he transforms them into new men by the ardour of his discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes, nor his consummate prudence. He foresees all our designs, he countermines all our projects, and disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides."

He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defence against Æschines, his accuser and declared enemy. "Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, it is well known," says he, "that neither delicate conjunctures, engaging expressions, magnificent promises, hope, fear, favour, any thing in the world, have ever been able to induce me to give up the least right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The sequel will shew how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman, to enter upon the administration of the publick affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprizes of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

SECT. VII. *Digression upon the manner of fitting out the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour by that city to such as had rendered it great services.*

THE subject of this digression ought properly to place in the fourth section of the tenth book, have treated of the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time, I had not the orations of Demosthenes which speak of them in my thoughts. It is a digression from the chain of the history which the reader must turn over, if he thinks fit.

The word *Trierarchs* (*d*) signifies no more in the Athenians than commanders of galleys. But those cities were also called *Trierarchs*, who were appointed to fit out the galleys in war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, each with part of them.

They were chosen out of the richest of the people, there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and even ten *Trierarchs* were appointed to each vessel.

(*e*) At length the number of *Trierarchs* was established twelve hundred in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. An hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to furnish the expences of the galleys; and thus each tribe furnishing six score, the number of the *Trierarchs* amounted to twelve hundred.

Those twelve hundred men were again divided into ten companies of six hundred each; and those six hundred subdivided into three more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from amongst such as were richest. Upon press-galleys they advanced the necessary expences, and were reimbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their part as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each consisting of sixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. This law was very heavy upon the poor citizens, and equal to a tax at bottom; as it decreed that this number of sixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained that the poorest citizens, from twenty-five to forty, should be included in these companies, and contribute one sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to supply

(*d*) *Triarchus*.

(*e*) *Ulpian, in Olynth. ii. §. 33.*

pence so much above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens lost the most favourable opportunities for action.

(f) Demosthenes, always intent upon the publick good, to remedy these inconveniences, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but by the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents *, was obliged to fit out one galley, and if to twenty talents, two; and so in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to compleat that sum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiser than this law of Demosthenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a sixteenth, as by the first law, they were sometimes obliged by the second to equip a galley, and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demosthenes upon this regulation; and it was, without doubt, an instance of no small courage in him to disregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself. “(g) Seeing,” says he, speaking to the Athenians, “your maritime affairs are in the greatest decline, the rich “possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the “citizens of middle or small fortunes eat up with taxes, and “the republick itself, in consequence of these inconveniencies, “never attempting any thing till too late for its service; I had “the courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are restrained “to their duty, the poor relieved from oppression, and, what “was of the highest importance, the republick enabled to “make the necessary preparations of war in due time.” He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have suspended its execution: But he did not suffer himself to be swayed either by their threats or promises, and continued firm to the publick good.

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it ineffectual. For it was

O 5

without

(f) Demost. in Orat. de Classib. (g) Demost. pro Ctesiph. p. 419.

* Ten thousand crowns.

without any view of interest, in a time of publick calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those, with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

(1) The same freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from customs to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and his children, because they yearly imported from the lands of that prince a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, subsisting almost entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generosity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum. For they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost seventy thousand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from publick offices. The names only of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person however, called Leptinus, out of a mistaken zeal for the publick good, proposed the abrogation by a new law of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time; except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that for the future the people should not be capable of granting such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great complacency to the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator suspected, who decries his cause himself, and shews its weak side, by substituting injurious terms for reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shewn, that so odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the republick, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons; he goes on to explain its convenience, and set them in a full light.

"It is fit," say he, "doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the State intended to acknowledge and reward by such immunities; it is in some manner calling in question the services they have done their country; "

"it

“ it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions, injurious
 “ to, if not destructive of, their glory. And were they now
 “ alive and present in this assembly, which of us all would
 “ presume to offer them such an affront ? Should not the respect
 “ we owe their memories make us consider them as always
 “ alive and present ?

“ But if we are little affected with what concerns them, can
 “ we be insensible to our own interest ? Besides, that cancelling
 “ so ancient a law is to condemn the conduct of our ancestors,
 “ what shame shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an
 “ injury shall we do our reputation ? The glory of Athens,
 “ and of every well-governed state, is to value itself upon its
 “ gratitude, to keep its word religiously, and to be true to all
 “ its engagements. A private person that fails in these re-
 “ spects, is hated and abhorred ; and who is not afraid of
 “ being reproached with ingratitude ? And shall the common-
 “ wealth, in cancelling a law that has received the sanction
 “ of publick authority, and being in a manner consecrated by
 “ the usage of many ages, be guilty of so notorious a preva-
 “ rication ? We prohibit lying in the very markets under
 “ heavy penalties, and require truth and faith to be observed
 “ in them ; and shall we renounce them ourselves by the revo-
 “ cation of grants, passed in all their forms, and upon which
 “ every private man has a right to insist.

“ To act in such a manner, would be to extinguish in the
 “ hearts of our citizens all emulation for glory, all desire to
 “ distinguish themselves by great exploits, all zeal for the
 “ honour and welfare of their country ; which are the great
 “ sources and principles of almost all the actions of life. And
 “ it is to no purpose to object the example of Sparta and
 “ Thebes, which grant no such exemptions : Do we repent
 “ our not resembling them in many things ? and is there any
 “ wisdom in proposing their defects, and not their virtues for
 “ our imitation ?”

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemp-
 tions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that
 all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it, but those
 who had a just title to them ; and that a strict enquiry should
 be made for that purpose.

It is plain that I have only made a very slight extract in this
 place of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to
 express only the spirit and sense, without confining myself to
 the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus's desiring to
 obtain a trivial advantage for the republick, by retrenching
 the

been retrenched. (m) Charles VII. had ennobled
father, three brothers, and all their descendants, e
female line. In 1614, at the request of the attorne
the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

(n) Mezerai.

 BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

 THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 PHILIP.

THE reigns of Philip king of Macedon and Alexander his son, contain the space of thirty-six years; the reign of the former including twenty-four, and that of the latter, twelve. They extend from the first year of the CVth Olympiad, or the year of the world 3644, to the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad, which answers to the year of the world 3680.

The kings, who reigned during that time in Persia, were Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses and Darius Codomanus. The Persian empire expired with the last.

We know not any thing concerning the transactions of the Jews during these thirty-six years, except what we are told by Josephus, Book xi. chap. 7 and 8. of his *Antiquities of the Jews*, under the high-priests John or Johanan, and Jaddus. These will be mentioned in the course of this history, with which that of the Jews is intermixed.

The above-mentioned space of thirty-six years (with respect to the Roman history) extends from the 393d to the 429th year from the foundation of Rome. The great men, who made the most conspicuous figure among the Romans during that space of time, were Appius Claudius the dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Tit. Manlius Torquatus, L. Papirius Cursor, M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and the two Decii, who devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country.

SECT. I. *The birth and infancy of PHILIP. Beginning of his reign. His first conquests. The birth of ALEXANDER.*

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, situated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east by Bœotia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestes; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatick sea to the river Strymon. Edeffa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years before; that is, *Anno Mundi* 3212, and *before Christ* 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and consequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often stiles them Barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. (a) Alexander, king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympick games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being descended originally from Argos. (b) The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter, that Mardonius was determined to charge them by surprize at day-break, justified his perfidy by his ancient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themselves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest. Of this we have several instances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were dissatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their settling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon the son of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponnesian war, till Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, about the

(a) Herod. l. v. c. 22.

(b) Idem. l. ix. c. 44.

the fifth or sixth year of that war, raised that whole province against them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

* Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having, the very year after, been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable track of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the blood royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years. (c) Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians in particular sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin, (d) It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last-mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

† Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better, than by calling him the father of such a son, as ‡ Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

(e) Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy.

Alexander

* A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398.

Diod. l. xiv. p. 307, 341.

† A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. vii. c. 4.

‡ M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim ceteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud

(c) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

(d) Aeschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 409.

(e) A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375.

progenit, ex filio est nominandus, De Offic. l. iii. n. 66.

Alexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of hostage, who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

(f) The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but Pausanias, a prince of the blood royal, who had been exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by seizing some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had sent him with a small fleet; not to besiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, desired to see him, intending to request his assistance against Pausanias. When he was come into the palace, and had seated himself, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, takes her two children, Perdiccas and Philip, and sets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; she then spoke thus to him: "Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of these unhappy orphans, had always a love for your country, and adopted you for his son. This double tie lays you under a double obligation. The amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires that you should acknowledge us publicly for your friends; and the tenderness which that father had for your person, claims from you the heart of a brother to these children." Iphicrates, moved with this sight and discourse, expelled the usurper, and restored the lawful sovereign.

(g) Perdiccas did not long continue in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose: This was Ptolemy his brother, natural son of Amyntas as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son and claim the crown as such. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined

(f) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. *Æsch. de Fals. Legat. p. 399, & Plutarch. in Pelop. p. 292.*

* Philip was not less than nine years old. with the relation of *Æsch. de Fals. Legat. p. 399, & Plutarch. in Pelop. p. 292.* being his contemporary, is more worthy of credit. I therefore thought proper to substitute Perdiccas instead of Alexander.

ned in favour of Perdiccas ; and having judged it necessary take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two combatants to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to * Thebes, where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Mithridates, at her leaving this much-loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Theban philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life ; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, it is to say, a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil ; and proposed him as a model to himself ; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly ! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions, which however formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage : But with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip did not receive from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. (b) After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly surprized at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle with the Illyrians, but much more so, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of turning into the kingdom with a greater force ; the Peonians pressed it with perpetual incursions : The Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned

(b) *Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Justin. l. vii. c. 5.*

* Thebis triennio obses habitus, ma pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe eritatis antiquæ, & in domo Epaminondæ summi & philosophi & imperatoris, deposuit. *Justin. l. vii. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes not only three but nine or ten years.*

doned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing ææus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to support a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had no child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir to the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, in the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed at the deposition of the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; perceiving that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people. Accordingly, he provides for, and remedies every thing. He restores the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and re-establishes discipline in the army. (4) He was inflexibly rigid on the last point, well knowing that the success of his enterprise depended on it. A soldier, who was thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, lay them down: Him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterward became so famous, and was the choicest and best disciplined body of an army the world had ever seen, might dispute precedence in those respects with the Grecian phalanx at Marathon and Salamis. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it from the idea suggested by (1) Homer. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by the assembly or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the phalanx of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them with the title of his *comrades* or *companions*; and by such marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the heat of the sun, the fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and

(1) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Diod. l. xvi. p. 404—413.

(4) Ælian. l. xiv. c. 49.

(1) Iliad. N. v. 130.

* *antirrup* signifies verbatim, a foot-soldier, comrade, companion.

made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the progress of our history; yet being placed separately, may properly please, especially by the judicious reflexions of a man so well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of, was, the negotiating a capitious peace with the Athenians, whose power he valued, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, at the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sends ambassadors to Athens, spares neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantage as he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not seem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician soundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. (*m*) He had laid upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him.

He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army much, not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up to his enemies the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republick, and in this manner to set them at variance with their ancient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promises and presents; and being to attack them, after he had disunited his enemies, he weakened them by that disunion.

His address and subtlety established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his followers, and takes a multitude prisoners; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power: He afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to bring to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Eubœa. That island, which is separated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was so called from

from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now Negropont. (n) It had been subject to the Athenians, had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Euboeans dismayed the Athenians much, because they drew greater revenues from them than from Attica. From that time Euboea became a prey to factions, and at the time of which we are now speaking, one faction implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and made the faction they espoused triumphant. However, the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended, at the Euboeans had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately sent them such powerful succour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now absolute masters of the island, they restore the inhabitants to their cities and liberty, persuaded, says * Æschines, in that circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending has restored their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Euboea to its former tranquillity, retired, without deriving any other benefit for all their services, than the having appeased the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with respect to other states; and it was this that gave rise to *the war of the allies*, of which I have spoken elsewhere.

Hitherto Philip, that is, during the first years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domestic divisions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to disabate them by frequent victories, from troubling him in the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regain their former grandeur; but Thebes having weakened itself in a war, in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Macedon, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the

(n) Vell. Patenc. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 613. Demosth. p. 479. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441. § A. M. 3646.

* Οὐκ ὡς πολεῖται, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀποκαταστάσει καὶ τῇ ἀντιπαράθεσιν.

nty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, resolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his glibours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he used neither artifices, open force, presents, or promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties and alliances, each of them singly in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the success of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Asia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by overturning an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy, either by open invasions or secret intrigues.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had seized upon Amphipolis, because well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who considered it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. (o) The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republick rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. (p) However, this monarch was not so delicate at this point; for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a confederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of misfortunes.

(q) Philip had promised the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promise had made them supine and inactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping

(o) Demosth. Olynth. i. p. 2.
ed. p. 412.

(p) *Ibid.*

(q) A.M. 3646. Ann. J.C. 358.

ing his word, and sincerity was in no manner the virtue professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also pos-
himself of * Pydna and of † Potidea. The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians to engage them in his interest.

(r) From whence he proceeded to seize Crenides, which the Thasians had built two years before, and which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, after famous from the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents, that is, about an hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling; a prodigious sum of money in his age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip first caused the golden stater to be coined there, which outlived the monarchy. Superior finances is of endless advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. With this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army against foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

(s) Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms. But Philip thought, spoke and acted in quite different manner. (t) It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer:

Ἀργυρέη τις ἐργάζεσθαι μάχην καὶ πάντα κερσάσθαι.

Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.

T

(r) Diod. p. 413.

(s) Philip iii. p. 92.

(t) Suidas.

* Pydna, a city of Macedon, situated on the gulf anciently called Sinus Thermæus, and now Golfo di Salo nichii.

† Potidea, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thessaly. It was but sixty stadia, or about half a day's journey from Olynthus.

¶ Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Cherilus, incultus qui vestibus & male natus
Rettulit acceptos, regale munuscula, Philippo.

Horat. l. ii. Ep. ad Augustum

*Cherilus the Persian youth approv'd,
Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd;
His dull, uneven verse, by great good fate,
Got him his favours, and a fair estate.*

Crech's Horat.

Ilinc sunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi.
Plaut. in Persæ

The advice of the priestess became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. * It has been said, that he was a merchant rather a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the publick affairs. And, indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was son of Alcetas, king of Molossus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, surnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. (u) Philip, who at that time was absent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable † advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympick games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, *Great Jupiter, in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune.*

(x) We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. *I am to inform you, said he, that I have a son born. I return*

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P

thanks

(u) A.M. 3648. Ant. J.C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Justin. l. xii. 16. Plut. in Apophth. p. 187. (x) Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

* Callidus emptor Olynthi.

Juv. Sat. xii. 47.

Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quam victor.

Val. Max. lib. vii. c. 2.

Diffidet hostium

Portas vir Meccedo, & subruit æmulos.

Reges muneribus.

Horat. lib. iii. Od. 164

*When engines, and when arts do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall;
Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew.*

Creech's Hor.

† Plutarch supposes, that this news | taking of Potidea, but this city had
was brought him immediately after the | been taken two years before.

thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as for having given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I now promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy both, and a king of Macedonia. What noble thought from the perusal of this letter, far different from the rage of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflection on it as he shall think proper; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons: it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good father, and the extraordinary care they should take to find one; * for every son is an Alexander to his father. It is that Philip I put his son very early under Aristotle, and that the success of studies depends on the foundation first, and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalanx.

(y) This || was a body of infantry, consisting of a thousand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the center of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡ (sarissa.) This pike was fourteen cubits long, that is, to one French foot, for the cubits consist of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or squadrons, each of which was composed of sixteen hundred men, an hundred feet in rank, and sixteen in file. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided according to occasion; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eighty, at other times thirty-two deep: But its usual and regular depth was of sixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were

(y) Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764—767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. Aelian, de hist. Arab.

* Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, inpositum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quantum suus cuique dignus est.) Quint. l. i. c. 1.

¶ An Philippos Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studio-

rum initia à perfectissime ætate time tractari, pertinere ad imbecillitatem? Quint. ibid.

¶ Decem & sex milia pedum Macedonum armati sunt phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc erat acies: erat in fronte, in dextera, in sinistrali, in posteriori partes decem. Tac. Liv. & alii.

six feet alunder. When the phalanx advanced towards my, there was but three feet distance between each soldier and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it were still closer, each soldier occupying only the space of a cubit and a half.

This evidently shews the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole consisted of sixteen thousand men, at sixteen deep, and constantly always a thousand men in front. This space or distance in the first case was six thousand feet, or one thousand furlongs, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up five furlongs, or two hundred fathoms *. And, in the third case, it was diminished another half, and extended to the distance of two hundred and fifty fathoms. Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it was ordered to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in the front and depth between each soldier. We observed above, that the pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the hands of the pikes, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right hand, took up four; and consequently the pike added ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the first rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rest, extended two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of the second rank four, those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers, who formed the first rank, advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will easily conceive, that when the soldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which was bristled with pikes, as we have seen, moved all together, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they charged with great force. The soldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but reclining a little towards the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of screen, which (not to mention their shields) secured them from being discharged at a distance, which fell without doing any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in front of them. For by supporting them behind with the utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased

in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of onset; they gave their comrades such a force as rendered immovable in attacks, and at the same time deprived the enemy every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order in the phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers (for it is those he compares to the Greeks in the question) says he, take up, in fight, three feet each, as they must necessarily move about very much, either to their bucklers to the right and left in defending themselves, or thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we are obliged to suppose the distance of three feet between every soldier. In this every Roman soldier takes up six feet, that is, twice as much distance as one of the phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes we have before observed. Now it is impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

(x) This Livy shews evidently in a few words, what describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city. † The consul, says he, made his cohorts to advance, in order, if possible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a tortoise; the Romans, I say, drew swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to close engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy, and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, but

(x) Liv. l. xxii. c. 27.

* It was before said, that each soldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half so much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

† Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ eunem Macedonum phalangem ipsi vocant, si possent, vi perturbarent, emittent:—Ubi conferti hastæ in-

gentis longitudinis præ se Mæcedonum ostendunt, velut in certatibus sunt oppositi telicinem, Romanis nequequam evadit, contra illis gladios: neque congerisse neque præcedere hastas poterat si qui incident aut perturbant hastæ fragmento ipso autem spicula integrorum hastarum, vallum exiebat.

n piece of the pike served as a point ; so that this range
kes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still
d.

Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus,
the king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of
, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and
shment. He did not remember, he said, any thing so
dable as this phalanx ; and often afterwards declared,
his dreadful spectacle had made so strong an impression
him, as almost made him despair of the victory.

From what has been said above, it follows, that the Mace-
don phalanx was invincible ; nevertheless, we find by history,
the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and
ed by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius,
as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very
; for in order to its being so, it required a flat even spot
pound of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrench-
ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we seldom find a spot
pound, of fifteen, twenty or more furlongs * in extent ; for
ge a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of
the phalanx is but a part.

: let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks) that a
of ground, such as could be wished, were found ; yet of
use could a body of troops drawn up in form of a phalanx
ould the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering
, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder
ties, or cut off the convoys ? That in case the enemy
l come to a battle, the general need only command part
front (the center for instance) to give way and fly, that
alanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In
ise, it is manifest the phalanx would be broke, and a large
made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to
: the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same
hat those soldiers, who are pursuing the enemy, may be
ed in the same manner.

his reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at
me time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which
cients fought ; which certainly ought to have its place in
y, as it is an essential part of it.

ence appears, as (b) Mr. Bossuet observes after Polybius,
P 3 the

Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

(b) *Discourse on Universal*

* Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

the difference between the Macedonian * phalanx form one large body, very thick on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property (these are Poly words) that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, purposely for it; and that for want of such tracks, it creaks, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the soldiers who compose it never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

(c) This enabled Paulus & Æmilius to gain his celebrated victory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in flank. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together) held their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron ramment to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. At last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue all parts that range of shields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius

(c) Plutarch, in *Paul. Æmil.* p. 265, 266. *Liv.* l. xlii. n. 47.

* Statarius uterque miles, ordinem servavit; sed illa phalanx immobilis, & unius generis: Romanæ acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans; faciliè patienti quæcumque opus esset, faciliè jungenti. *Tac. Liv.* l. ix. n. 19.

Erant pleraque sylvestria circa, incommoda phalangæ, maxime Macedonum, quæ, nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos obiecit (quod ut hæc, libero campo opus est) nullius admodum ulla est. *Id.* l. xxxi. n. 39.

‡ Secunda legio inimicis dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentiore causa victoriæ fuit, quam quod multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem

turbant primò, deinde dissipant phalangem; cuius confectæ, tenuis horrentis hastie, intolere vires sunt. Si carptim aggre circumagere immobilis longæ & gravitate hastam cogit, & sine implicatur: si vero ab aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus puit, ruinæ modo turbantur. tum adversus catervatim in Romanos, & interrupta multitudine, obviam ire cogebantur: muni, quæcumque data inessent, intrinsecus ordines suos si universa acie in frontem & instructam phalangem concurrerint inducent se hastie, nec non aciem sustinissent. *Tac. Liv.*

served, that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union, and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

(d) The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, supposing the distance of one fathom or six feet for each horseman; a space he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been said the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

SECT. II. *The sacred war. Sequel of the history of PHILIP. He endeavours in vain to possess himself of the pass of Thermopylae.*

(e) **D**ISCORD, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were sacred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of sacrilege, some from a spirit of sincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called the *sacred war*, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were summoned to appear before the Amphyctions, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

P 4

Philo-

(d) Lib. xii. p. 663.

(e) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Diod. l. xiv. p. 425—433.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by some verses in (*f*) Homer, that the sovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them against this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much disgusted at the sentence which the Amphyctions had pronounced against them, at the solicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promised to assist him with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The * Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in several rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprize with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphyctions against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country, that he has no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a sanction from the god who presided at Delphos, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priestesses at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a serious one. The Amphyctions meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he be-
lieved

(*f*) Iliad. l. ii. v. 516.

* Or Locri.

lieved that the riches of the god could not be better employed than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

* This new general had soon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage:

(g) Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and
P 5 obstructed

* A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 353.
352. Diad. p. 434.

(g) A. M. 3651. Ant. J.

obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself of, and razed it. (b) He lost one of his eyes before Meby by a very singular accident. After of Amphipolis had his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer, *Well, I will take you into my service to make war upon starlings*; which answer stung the cross-bow to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, *To I right eye*, and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent back the same arrow, with this inscription, *If Philip take city, he will hang up After*; and accordingly he was as good as his word.

(i) A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away all blemish. (k) But nevertheless this monarch was so weak to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word *Cyclops*, or even the word *eye*, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to confess her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, *Jon, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour*.

(l) After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new strength by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander Phœæ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebé, had murdered him, grown weary of having some time acted the part of deliverers, revived tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Demetrius, the eldest of the three brothers who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Romans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was easily defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of six thousand men

(b) Suidas in Καρυ. de Elocut. c. iii.

(i) Plin. l. vii. c. 37.
(l) Diad. p. 432—435.

(k) Demet.

killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows ; and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of his expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories and those of his son.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding he same advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army ; and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, he went into Bœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides ; but at last, Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room ; and Mnæseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Phociæans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all those to account who had any concern in the publick monies. Upon this Phalecus was deposed ; and, after an exact enquiry, it was found, that from the beginning of the war there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thousand talents, that is, about one million five hundred thousand pounds.

• Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocia. This is his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to punish the sacrilegious Phociæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves very seasonably of this important pass, which Philip did not dare attempt to force ; so that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.

SECT. III. DEMOSTHENES, upon PHILIP's attempting Thermopylae, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince. Little regard is paid to his oration. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by PHILIP, addresses the Athenians for succour. DEMOSTHENES endeavours by his oration to rouse them out of their lethargy. They send but a very weak succour, and PHILIP at length takes Olynthus.

AS we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims, and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the publick good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage to support fatigues of war by sea and land, the same care of the revenues, the same willingness to bear salutary advice; the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to publick affairs; an aversion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the publick treasures in games and shows; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them, and an unhappy facility in conferring publick offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the approaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens, at the time the king of Macedonia began to turn his arms against Greece.

* We have seen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylae. (m) Demosthenes taking advantage of so favourable a disposition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to set before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were exposed by the

the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under, from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms, and the rapidity of his progress, spread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed, would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes insists strongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians; and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness, as even insults the Athenians.

“ See,” says Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, “ to what a height the arrogance of that man rises, who will not suffer you to chuse either action or repose; but employs menaces, and, as some says, speaks in the most insolent terms; and not contented with his first conquests, but incapable of satiating his lust of dominion, engages every day in some new enterprize. Possibly, you wait till necessity reduces you to act; can any one be greater to freeborn men than shame and infamy? Will you then for ever walk the publick place with this question in your mouths, *What news is there?* Can there be greater news, than that a Macedonian has vanquished the Athenians, and made himself the supreme arbiter of Greece? *Philip is dead*, says one; *he is only sick*, replies another.” (His being wounded at Methone had occasioned all these reports.) “ But whether he be sick or dead is nothing to the purpose, O Athens! For the moment after heaven had delivered you from him (should you still behave as you now do) you would raise up another Philip against yourselves; since the man in question owes his grandeur infinitely more to your indolence, than to his own strength.”

But Demosthenes, not satisfied with bare remonstrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place, he advises the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty gallies, and to resolve firmly to man them themselves. He requires them to reinforce these with ten gallies lightly armed, which may serve as a convoy to the fleet and transports. With regard to the land-forces, as in his time the
general,

general, elected by the most powerful faction, formed the army only of a confused assemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little service: Demosthenes requires them to levy no more than two thousand chosen troops, five hundred of which shall be Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies; with two hundred horse, fifty of which shall also be Athenians.

The expence of this little army, with regard only to provisions and other matters independent from their pay, was to amount to little more *per* month than ninety * talents (ninety thousand crown.) *viz.* forty talents for ten convoy galleys, at the rate of twenty minæ (a thousand livres) *per* month for each galley; forty talents for the two thousand infantry, and ten drachmas (five livres) *per* month for each foot-soldier; which five livres *per* month make a little more than three-pence farthing French money *per* *anum*. Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horse, at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) *per* month for each horseman; which fifteen livres *per* month make ten sols *per* *diem*. The reason of my relating this so particularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of provisions is not a considerable step, he is very much mistaken; for he is persuaded, that provided the forces do not want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing besides; and that without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of sufficient acquisitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be surprized at Demosthenes's requiring so small a body of forces, he gives this reason for it, *viz.* that at present the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a sufficient force in the field; and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, observe, harass, and keep close to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprizes with ease, as they might think fit to attempt.

What the success of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, according to the supineness natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one side employed themselves wholly in reducing the strength of Thebes their rival;

* Each talent was worth a thousand crowns.

ival; whilst, on the other side, the Thessalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most resolute manner to Philip; and assisted him (undesignedly) in making chains for themselves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could scarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who since the defeat of Xerxes had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter, upon his accession to the crown. However, being not firmly established on his throne, he at first employed dissimulation, and requested the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortress, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to besiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who saw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an assembly of the people, and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the assembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four-and-thirty, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time.

(n) In this * discourse, the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpose, he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one side, he is a man, whose unbounded ambition the empire of the world would not satiate, an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies, as so many subjects

(n) Olynth. ii.

* The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally noted upon as the second of the three Olynthiacks, which relate to this subject. But M. de Tournell, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, thinks it to be of great weight on this oc-

casian, changes the order generally observed in Demosthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiacks. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

jects or slaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the oversights and errors of others, seizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of seasons; an intrepid hero, who rushes through obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse trafficks, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgot her inconstancy: But, on the other side, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempt, digs himself the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villainy; an usurper, hated universally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the intemperance of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his soldiers, and of all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tournel draws, by uniting the several detached lineaments in the present oration of Demosthenes. In it is shewn the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke of so powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appease domestick dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the publick service; and that, at a common expence, every man, according to his abilities, may concur to the destruction of the common enemy.

Demades *, bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athe-

nians

nians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty gallees, and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent necessity, which so nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain assistance only from the Athenians.

However, this succour did not prevent the designs of Philip, or the progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, the fortress of Gira, and spreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invasion, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement. Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiack generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they do not rouse from their lethargy: for that, in case Philip seizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expences requisite for the succour of the Olynthians, because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the publick games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedæmonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of reserve, a thousand talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulsing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute among them, in times of peace*, the thousand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the publick shows, upon condition, however, that they might resume this fund in time of war. The proposal was approved, and the restriction also. But, as all concessions of this kind degenerate in time or other into licence, the Athenians were so highly pleased with this distribution (called by Demades *a glue by which the Athenians would be caught*) that they absolutely could not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse

* These games, besides the two oboli | persons present, occasioned a great number which were distributed to each of the | ber of other expenses.

abuse was carried to such a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which opposed Demosthenes, prohibited any person, upon pain of death, to much as to propose the restoring, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public shows. Apollodorus was even punished, for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and for insisting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. It was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations so very slow, as quite defeated the design of them, without lessening the expence. As the artificers and sea-faring people, who composed above two-thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their substance, and only gave their persons, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the publick monies being squandered upon festivals, comedies, and the like superfluities. But the people, being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to subtract from their diversions, merely to save people who possessed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this to the people seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After shewing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprizes of Philip, he hints (but in a distant way) that those funds which were expended in theatrick representations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commissioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws (there being already but too many established) but to examine and abolish such as should be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law, which grieved the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this sad necessity, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they observed a fearful, prevaricating silence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have the success they deserved, since in the following Olynthiack (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill served by the venal succours of Athens, required, by a third embassy, a body of troops, which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory, and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest sollicitation of Demosthenes, sent Chares a second time, with a reinforcement of seventeen galleys, of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

(o) The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the succours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestick enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Lasthenes, two of its most eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and sells the rest for slaves; and distinguishes those who had betrayed their city, no otherwise than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them. This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country?

(p) Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lasthenes for the perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself: *Do not mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its real name.*

The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. (q) Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

He now caused shows and publick games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added feasts, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests

(o) A. M. 3556. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 450—452.

(p) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

(q) Diod. l. xv. p. 391.

guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

SECT. IV. PHILIP declares in favour of Thebes against the Phœacians, and thereby engages in the sacred war. He lulls the Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of DEMOSTHENES, into security by a pretended peace and false promises. He forces on Thermopylæ, subjects the Phœacians, and puts an end to the sacred war. He is admitted into the council of the Amphycions.

(r) **T**HE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phœacians, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the sacred war; and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself, that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republick, in opposition to the Phœacians. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion;

gion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

(1) There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylae, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis: But then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the politicks of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averie to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to enquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demosthenes, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to return and ransom them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himself to keep his word; and, in the mean time, advises his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republick had commanded; and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch, as they were desired, go an ambassador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, stay three months in that country, and give Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them asleep with the specious pretence of a treaty,

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he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors one after another by presents, Demosthenes excepted, who being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in Thessaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuses to include the Phociæans in it. When the news was brought to Athens, that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially to those who were averse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was (1) Isocrates. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in publick, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and success. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of publick affairs; and as others served their country *viva voce*, in the publick assemblies, Isocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being soon made publick, were very eagerly sought after.

On the present occasion, he writ a piece of considerable length, which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and eight. The scope of this discourse was to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, *viz.* Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confesses, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he should have been far from making such a proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republicks, whilst sustained and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had began to set them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

In

(1) Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

In case he (Philip) should be so happy as to succeed in such a project ; so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece ; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but, at the same time, has in reality no other object in view but the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes, that rumours so injurious as these, have no manner of foundation ; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and possessing himself of it. But these very reports, which are so capable of blackening his name, and of sullyng all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece by the least suspicions of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties ; in removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality ; in not espousing the interest of one people against another ; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice : In fine, by aspiring to no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Persia's dominions he ought to merit those last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind that Agésilas, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne, and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the intestine divisions which then broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip against a prince inferior in every respect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the
glorious

glorious enterprize, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads : That this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice ; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it himself ; and this being done, that he should turn his victorious arms against a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed, that this is a most noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation or disinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was persuaded, that it was his business to secure himself first of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by services but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or persuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and was for asserting himself of them by much stronger ties than those of friendship, gratitude, and sincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgment of Philip's designs. Upon his return from his embassy, he declares expressly, that he does not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, assures the Athenians, that he had discovered the greatest candor and sincerity in the promises and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Thebes and Plataea should be repeopled, in spite of the opposition of the Thebans ; that in case he should proceed so far as to subject the Phocians, he would preserve them, and not do them the least injury ; that he would restore Thebes to the good order which had before been observed in it ; that Oropus should be given up absolutely to the Athenians ; and, that in lieu of Amphipolis, they should be put in possession of Eubœa. It was to no purpose that Demosthenes remonstrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all these glorious promises, endeavoured to possess himself, in an absolute manner, of Phocis ; and that by abandoning it to him they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not heard, and the oration of Æschines, who engaged that Philip would make good his several promises, prevailed over that of Demosthenes.

(*r*) These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to possess himself of Thermopylae, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no possibility of reducing the Phocians; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare sound of his name filled them with terror. Upon the supposition that he was marching against a herd of sacrilegious wretches, not against common enemies, he ordered all his soldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himself whose honour they revenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocians believed themselves overcome. Accordingly they sue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the eight thousand men in his service. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. * This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topick of all conversations in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembles the council of the Amphyctions, and appoints them, for form sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocians had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they shall all be reduced to small towns of sixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches, who have committed sacrilege, shall be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphos shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocians, he demanded that their seat in the council of the Amphyctions, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphyctions, the instrument of whose vengeance he had now seen, were afraid of refusing him, and accordingly admitted him

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him

(*r*) A.M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diad. l. xii. p. 456.

* Incredibile quantum ea res apud
omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit.
illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum alto-
rum religionum, Pæque Dæi (et xi-
mum habetur, per quem Deorum ma-
jestas vindicata sit. Justin. l. xiii. c. 2

him a member of their body ; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendance of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thessalians ; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the sacrilege of the Phœceans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phœceans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes ; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were seized, for having failed in the obligations of the * confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phœcis, was become master of Therinopylae, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. (u) The Athenians, therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city ; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piræus fortified, in order to put themselves into a state of defence in case of an invasion.

The Athenians had no share in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphyctions. They perhaps had absented themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence ; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his design, assembled such of the Amphyctions only as were entirely at his devotion. In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular ; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation ; but in an assembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, several were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion ; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it in the present juncture ; since that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians, both the

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* *W. & B. de P. & C. de P.*

(u) Demost. de Fals. Legat. p. 312.

new Amphyction, and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves unreasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refusal, to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphyctious; and protested, that it was their interest to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *Oration on the peace*. We may reasonably believe that his advice was followed.

SECT. V. PHILIP, being returned to Macedonia, extends his conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a league with the Thebans, the Messenians, and the Argives, to invade Peloponnesus in concert with them. Athens declaring in favour of the Lacedæmonians, this league is dissolved. He again attempts Eubœa, but PHOCION drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian. PHILIP besieges Perimthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the orations of DEMOSTHENES, send succours to those two cities, under the command of PHOCION, who forces him to raise the siege of those places.

(u) AFTER Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. (x) Diodorus observes, that all these, who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.

(y) Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylæ; that he had subverted Phœnis; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphyction; and that he had gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all suspicion, and to sooth the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to ex- and

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his

(u) A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344.

(y) Ibid. p. 463.

(x) Diod. l. xvi. p. 456.

his frontiers on that side, and to keep always his troops exercised by some new expedition.

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had dispossessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. He still carried on his conquests there. Thucydides observes, before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of the two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of fertile cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, after Lyfander had destroyed Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Cleombrotus the son of Timotheus, had reinvaded that country. Cleombrotus king of Thrace, then dispossessed the Athenians of Chersonesus; (x) but it was afterwards restored to them by Cleombrotus, son of Cotys, who finding himself unable to do it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reserving however to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formerly it were, the gate and entrance of it. (y) After Philip deprived Cleombrotus of his kingdom, which happened the second year of the 107th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, claimed their city, which formerly belonged to them, and submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

(z) Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disobeyed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince, the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plundered them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries rich booty, all which he lodged safe in Chersonesus. Being unable to revenge himself in the manner he could wish, he contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received commissions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which

(x) *Diod. l. xvi. p. 434.*

(y) *Ibid. l. 465.*

* A. M.

Ant. J. C. 335.

(z) *A. M. 367. Ant. J. C. 334. Liban.*

ib. l. 1. c. 77.

In 1345.

ot prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against pithes; impeach him of involving the state in war; accuse of extortion and piracy; insist upon his being recalled, pursue his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the publick war was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration *on Cberfonesus*. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comick poet, whom Demosthenes has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, since it was personal; he nevertheless pleads his apology (silently) from the example of all the generals, to whom islands and cities of Asia minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions; ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare crier, an accusation in due form, a galley appointed to go against him whom the general recalled; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's exactions. These cannot be checked either by decrees or measures; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops, fighting out gallies.

Your orators," says he, "cry out eternally to you, that you must make choice either of peace or war; but Philip does not leave this at our option, he who is daily meditating some new enterprize against us. And can we doubt but it is as he who broke the peace, unless it is pretended, that we have no reason to complain of him, as long as he shall forbear making any attempts on Attica and the Piræus? But it will then be too late for us to oppose him; and it is now we must prepare strong barriers against his ambitious designs. You ought to lay it down as a certain maxim, O Athenians, that it is you he aims at; that he considers you as his most dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can establish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; and that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with the view of falling upon you, and of reducing Athens to a state of subjection. And indeed, can any of you be so vastly simple, as to imagine that Philip is so greedy of a few paltry towns (for what other name can we bestow on those he now attacks?) that he submits to fatigues, seasons and dangers, merely for

"the

Q 3

* It was called Πίραδος.

† In Thrace.

“readiness to oppress and enslave the Greeks, we, on
“may always have one on foot, to defend and preserv
There is reason to believe, that Demosthenes’s advice
lowed.

(c) The same year that this oration was spoke, A
king of Molosses or Epirus, died. He was son of
and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whose daughter
pias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by t
and authority of his son-in-law, was raised so high as
the regal power with his elder brother, to whom onl
tally belonged. This first unjust action was follow
greater. For after the death of * Arymbas, Philip p
part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces,
Molossians expelled Æacidus, son and lawful successor
bas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus,
of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brothe
but son-in-law to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra
married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried
into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidus re-
the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, a
mitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus (so fi
the Roman history) and second cousin to Alexander th
Acletas being grandfather to both these monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace
his views towards Peloponnesus. (d) Terrible con
prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Laca
assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than

duced Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which suited with his views. He proposed to the Amphyctions, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independance, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented, by his ambassadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing so was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly, that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed said true, with regard to the written articles and the publick stipulations; but Æschines had made this promise by word of mouth in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos and Messene, were also very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already secretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

(e) But Demosthenes, insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to inforce the negotiation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposes the ambitious designs of Philip, which he still pursues; and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. "You excell," says he to them, "both you and
 " he, in that circumstance which is the object of your appli-
 cation

Q 4

(e) Philipp. ii.

" and your cares. You speak in a better manner than him,
 " and he acts better than you. The experience of the past,
 " ought at least to open your eyes ; and make you more sus-
 " picious and circumspect with regard to him : But this serves
 " to no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time
 " his troops are marching towards Peloponnesus ; he is sending
 " money to it, and his arrival in person, at the head of a
 " powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think
 " that you will be secure, after he shall have possessed himself
 " of the territories round you ? Art has invented, for the secu-
 " rity of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts, walls,
 " ditches, and the like works ; but nature surrounds the wife
 " with a common bulwark, which covers them on all sides,
 " and provides for the security of states. What is this bul-
 " wark ? It is diffidence." He concludes with exhorting the
 Athenians to rouse from their lethargy ; to send immediate
 succour to the Lacedæmonians ; and, above all, to punish di-
 rectly all such domestick traitors as have deceived the people,
 and brought their present calamities upon them, by spreading
 false reports, and employing captious assurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open
 rupture ; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed
 his invasion of Peloponnesus, in order that he might not have
 too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However,
 he did not sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip
 had a long time considered Eubœa as proper, from its situation,
 to favour the designs he meditated against Greece ; and, in the
 very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself
 of it. He indeed set every engine to work at that time, in
 order to seize upon that island, which he called *The Shackles of
 Greece*. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other
 side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy ; espe-
 cially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a
 bridge. However, that people, according to their usual custom,
 continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The
 latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his
 interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island,
 and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest
 authority in it. (f) At the request of certain of the inha-
 bitants, he sent some troops privately thither ; possessed himself
 of several strong places ; dismantled Porthmos, a very impor-
 tant fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings
 over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the
 strongest cities of Eubœa, of which it possessed the fourth part ;
 and

established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

(g) Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion. (h) That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestick. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the publick baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked * barefoot, and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say laughing, *See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign of a hard winter.*

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great success. Persuaded, that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value; Phocion had formed himself to a lively, close, concise stile, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: *I am considering, says he, whether it is not possible for me to retrench any part of the discourse I am to make.* He was a strong reasoner, and by that means carried every every thing against the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the publick, say, *There is the ax which cuts away the effects of my words.* One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not so with the Athenians: Lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really understood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which is saying a great deal.

Q 5

Phocion

(g) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 746. 747.

(h) Ibid. p. 743. 745.

* Strabo said often to walk in that manner.

Phocion observing that those persons, who at this time concerned in the administration, had divided it into mi and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demetrius, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves merely haranguing the people, and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes, and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments; he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilst he was in employment, peace and tranquility were always his object, as being the end of every wise government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only all the generals of his time, but even than all his predecessors. He was honoured with the supreme command five-and-twenty times, without having once asked or made interest for it; was always appointed to command the armies in his absence. The world was astonished, that, being of so severe a temper, and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind, it was possible for him, in a manner to fix in his own mind the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though frequently used to oppose very strenuously their will and caprice without regard to their capriciousness and delicacy. That they had formed to themselves of his probity and zeal for public good, extinguished every other opinion of him; that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Epirus. But Plutarch repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the dagger against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at home to sit upon that unbecoming pride, for he pursued his prize, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Epirus.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens; he was no less regarded than all the allies regretted the absence of his good conduct and policy. Though the professed enemy of every kind of opposition and contention, he knew how to manage himself into the minds of men with art, and a long time he made himself beloved. He had the rare talent of making them his friends and allies. He one day made Chares and his friends, who opposed him, to go with ten light troops to relieve the troops of Achæus, who were in alliance with Antipater, very young. These his purposes, says he, *is such a spirit*

Too strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too weak, if I am to fight enemies. The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal service which Phocion's great capacity, valour and experience had done them, in the expedition of Eubœa. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

(i) Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marched towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expedition was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing lest, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him, in order to become his master, and form him in person for the trade of war.

Demosthenes still continued his invectives against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people upon the specious pretence of a peace he had sworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterprizes he formed against the commonwealth. This is the subject of his orations, called the Philippicks.

(k) "Whence comes it," says he, "that all the Greeks formerly panted so strongly after liberty, and now run so eagerly into servitude? The reason is, because there prevailed at that time among the people, what prevails no longer among us; that which triumphed over the riches of the Persians; which maintained the freedom of Greece; which never acted inconsistently on any occasion either by

Q 6

"See

(i) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 486, 487.

(k) Philipp. iii. p. 90.

“ sea or by land ; but which, being now extinguished in every
 “ heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and subverted the
 “ constitution of Greece. It is that common hatred, that
 “ general detestation, in which they held every person who
 “ had a soul abject enough to sell himself to any man who
 “ desired either to enslave, or even corrupt Greece. In those
 “ times, to accept of a present was a capital crime, which
 “ never failed of being punished with death. Neither their
 “ orators nor their generals exercised the scandalous traffick,
 “ now become so common in Athens, where a price is set upon
 “ every thing, and where all things are sold to the highest
 “ bidder.

(l) “ In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a perfect
 “ union, founded on the love of the publick good, and the
 “ desire of preserving and defending the common liberty.
 “ But in this age, the states abandon one another, and give
 “ themselves up to reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All
 “ of them, without exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthi-
 “ ans, Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less than
 “ others ; all, all, I say, form a separate interest ; and this it
 “ is that renders the common enemy so powerful.

(m) “ The safety of Greece consists therefore in our uniting
 “ together against this common enemy, if that be possible.
 “ But at least, as to what concerns each of us in particular,
 “ this incontestable maxim is absolutely necessary to hold, that
 “ Philip attacks you actually at this time ; that he has in-
 “ fringed the peace ; that by seizing upon all the fortresses
 “ around you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you
 “ yourselves, and that he considers us as his mortal enemies,
 “ because he knows that we only are able to oppose the am-
 “ bitious design he entertains of grasping universal power.

(n) “ These consequently we must oppose with all imagin-
 “ able vigour ; and for that purpose must slip off, without loss
 “ of time, the necessary aids for Chersonesus and Byzantium ;
 “ you must provide instantly whatever necessaries your gen-
 “ erals may require ; in fine, you must concert together on
 “ such means as are most proper to save Greece, which is
 “ now threatened with the utmost danger. (o) Though all
 “ the rest of the Greeks, O Athenians, should bow their
 “ necks to the yoke, yet you ought to persist in fighting always
 “ for the cause of liberty. After such preparations, made in
 “ presence of all Greece, let us excite all other states to second
 “ us ; let us acquaint every people with our resolutions, and
 “ send

(l) Phil. p. iv. p. 102.

(m) Ibid. iii. p. 97.

(n) Ibid. iii. p. 82.

(o) Ibid. p. 94, 95.

“ send ambassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and especially to the king of Persia; for it is his interest, as well as ours, to check the career of that man.”

The sequel will shew, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. (p) The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed against the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made: (q) But what could be expected from a general, whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great; who took along with him, in his military expeditions, a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, which were levied out of the monies appointed for the service of the fleet! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; so that his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

(r) In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams: Nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprized to see another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatic satrapæ, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, whose assistance we observed the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He

(p) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 747. (q) Athen. l. xii. §. 530. (r) Diod. l. xvi. p. 466—468.

He was desirous to appear (in outward shew) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the times we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the edge of their resentments, by reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boasts he had observed very religiously; this piece he interpreted very artfully (for he was a great master of eloquence) with such complaints and menaces, as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A magick and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning sustained throughout, a plain and unadorned declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony, in fine, that noble and concise stile so proper for crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip, what was said of Cæsar, * *That he handled the pen as well as he did the sword*.

This letter is so long, and besides is filled with so great a number of private facts (though each of these are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgement made of it. I shall therefore give but one passage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.

" At the time of our most open ruptures," says Philip to the Athenians, " you went no farther than to hit out privations
 " against me, to seize and sell the merchants that came to
 " trade in my dominions, to favour any party that opposed
 " my measures, and to insult the places subject to me by your
 " hostilities. But now you carry hatred and insolence to such
 " prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the Pri-
 " mæ, in order to cite him to declare war against me. This
 " must appear a most affronting circumstance, for before he
 " had made himself master of Egypt and Phœnicia, you had
 " resolved, in the most solemn manner, that in case he should
 " attempt any new enterprise, you then would invite me, in
 " common with the rest of the Greeks, to unite our forces
 " against him. And, nevertheless, at this time you carry your
 " hatred to such a height, as to negotiate an alliance with him
 " against me. I have been told, that formerly your father
 " imputed to Philotas, as an unpardonable crime, his having
 " requested the succour of the Persians against the Greeks, and
 " yet

“ yet you do not blush to commit a thing which you were perpetually condemning in the person of your tyrants.”

Philip's letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to the people, who were very desirous of easing themselves of political inquietudes; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprizes and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was sensible how vastly necessary it was to erase, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; then to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them, that all things portend the ruin of Philip; Gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanswerable.

(*s*) The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: “ Convinced by these truths, O Athenians, and strongly persuaded, that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace (for Philip has now declared war against us by his letter, and has long done the same by his conduct) you ought not to spare either the publick treasure, or the possessions of private persons; but when occasion shall require, haste to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head than those you have hitherto employed. For no one among you ought to imagine, that the same men, who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should contemn dangers to such a degree, that merely to aggrandize his empire, he
“ should

" should rush into the midst of combats, and return
 " battle covered with wounds; and that Athenians, w
 " hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to impose la
 " others sword in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely thro
 " dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate i
 " the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest
 " their country."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news
 brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with
 the allies, which raised a general murmur among the peo
 who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their ha
 sent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up and told
 people, " That they ought not to be exasperated at the
 " dence of the allies, but at the conduct of the generals
 " had occasioned it. For it is these, continued he, who re
 " you odious, and formidable even to those who cannot
 " themselves from destruction without your assistance."
 indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a ge
 without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit
 fitted in having gained a great ascendancy over the people
 the haughty and bold air he assumed. His presumption
 cealed his incapacity from himself; and a sordid princip
 avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprizes.

* The people, struck with this discourse, immediately
 changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to c
 mand a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the a
 upon the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to
 preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acqu
 great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the
 of war, but much more for his probity and disinterestedness.
 The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him
 joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own
 thers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, fir
 with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the ut
 prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable
 their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their coura
 and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the ut
 intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. (1) P
 cion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, f
 forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and
 rinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which dimin
 very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thou
 invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phot
 took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he l

garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

(u) The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here. " Under Bosphoricus the pontiff, " * Damagetus, after having desired leave of the senate to " speak, said, in a full assembly: Inasmuch as in times past " the continual benevolence of the people of Athens towards " the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance and their " common origin, has never failed upon any occasion; that " this benevolence, so often signalized, has lately displayed " itself, when Philip of Macedon (who had taken up arms to " destroy Byzantium and Perinthus) battered our walls, burnt " our country, cut down our forests; that in a season of so " great calamity, this beneficent people succoured us with a " fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, furnished with provisions, arms and forces; that they saved us from the greatest danger; in fine, that they restored us to the quiet possession " of our government, our laws, and our tombs: The Byzantines and Perinthians grant, by decree, the Athenians to " settle in the countries belonging to Perinthus and Byzantium; to marry in them, to purchase lands, and to enjoy " all the prerogatives of citizens; they also grant them a " distinguished place at publick shows, and the right of sitting " both in the senate and the assembly of the people, next to the pontiffs: And further, that every Athenian, who shall " think proper to settle in either of the two cities above-mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of any kind: That in " the harbours, three statues of sixteen cubits each shall be " set up, which statues shall represent the people of Athens " crowned by those of Byzantium and Perinthus: And besides, " that presents shall be sent to the four solemn games of " Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to the Athenians, shall there be proclaimed; so that the same ceremony " may acquaint all the Greeks, both with the magnanimity " of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Perinthians and " Byzantines."

The inhabitants of Chersonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: " Among the nations inhabiting " the Chersonesus, the people of Seistos, of Ælia, of Madytis, " and

(u) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 437, 438.

* He probably was the chief magistrate.

“ and of Alopeconefus, decree to the people and for
 “ Athens, a crown of gold of sixty talents *; and ere
 “ altar, the one to the goddess of gratitude, and the
 “ to the Athenians, for their having, by the most glori-
 “ all benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the per-
 “ Chonometes, and restored them to the possession of
 “ country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples
 “ act of beneficence, which they shall fix eternally in
 “ memories, and never cease to acknowledge to the use
 “ their power. All which they have resolved in full sen-

(x) Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Athens, king of Scythia, whom he had received some personal cause of discontent took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Athenians had a very numerous army, he defeated them with any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians not as yet so unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in wine, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Thracia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the booty he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight the Triballs, and attacked him.

SECT. VI. PHILIP, by his intrigues, gets himself appointed mediator of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphictyons. He persuades himself of Eliza. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed at the approach of this city, unite against PHILIP. He makes overtures of peace, which, upon the remonstrances of DEMOSTHENES, are rejected. Eliza is fugitive at Corinth. PHILIP gains a victory at Chaeronea. DEMOSTHENES is accused and brought to trial by CLEARCHUS. He is banished and goes to Rhodes.

THE Athenians had considered the coming of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and a total separation. (y) The king of Macedonia, who was the ally and friend of the

(x) Justin. l. iv. c. 3. 3.
 Tacit. in Phoca. p. 783.

(y) A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 3.

* See the first French version.

uences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and postpone upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his sick proposals.

(x) It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandize it wanted. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to a war, and free himself from the inconveniencies attending

but by exciting the Thessalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republic; and the passage by land to Thessaly would be shut against him, as long as the Thessalians could refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he should ascribe no other motive for it than private enmity, he was very sensible that it would have no effect with either of the states: But that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce with his desires, either by persuasion or deceit.

This was his aim, the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners, who sent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations, he raised divisions among the Ozolæ of Locris, otherwise called *The Locrians Amphissa*, from their capital city: Their country was situated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having profaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the

the Cirrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphi. The reader has seen that a like cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphyctions. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or suspicious agent, he plainly saw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design, in which case, all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his design by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the assiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the *Pylagori*, by which name those were called, who were sent by the several Greek cities to the assembly of the Amphyctions. The instant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a descent was appointed, in order to visit the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered as the lawful possessors; but which they now were accused of usurping, by a most sacrilegious act.

Whilst the Amphyctions were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a shower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew resentment and war upon these Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphyctions, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following assembly of the Amphyctions, the affair was debated very seriously. It was there Æschines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a studied oration, proved to the deputies, or representatives, either that they must assent themselves to support foreign-soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their commonwealth the expence, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved the latter. Upon which, by a publick decree, *ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphyctions, implore his assistance; beseech him not to neglect the cause of that god, which the impious Amphissians make their sport; and notify to him, that for this purpose all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphyctions, elect him for their general, with full power to act as he shall think proper.*

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately

mediately assembles his forces, and marches (by a faint) towards the Cirrhean field, forgetting now both the Cirrheans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elatea, the greatest city in Phocis, standing on the river Cephissus; and the most happily situated for design he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were

(a) This news being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terror through every part of it. The next morning assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, *Who among you will ascend the tribunal?* (b) However, no person appears for that purpose; upon which he repeated the invitation several times, but still none rose up, though all the generals and orators were present; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose a salutary counsel: For, says Demosthenes, from whom these particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this general silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were seized, Demosthenes, animated at the sight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture, and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politicks and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately forms a counsel, which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by sea.

The people of Athens were under a double error with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to shew. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatea apprized them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most efficient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not avail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between

(a) *Demosth. pro Ctes.* p. 501—504.

(b) *Diod.* l. xvi. p. 474—477.

tween the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his design, and wherefore did he possess himself of Elatea? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage those of the faction in Thebes, and to inspire them with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of his army, and advancing his power and forces around that city. On the other side, he would strike unexpectably the opposite faction, and stun them in such a manner, as may enable him to get the better of it either by terror or force. Philip, *says he*, prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, under Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for service; and support these by your cavalry. By this step you will shew all Greece, that you are ready armed to defend yourselves; and inspire your partisans in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, that as those who sell their country to Philip, have forces in Elatea ready to assist them upon occasion; in like manner those, who are willing to fight for the preservation of their own liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary counsel was followed in every particular; and in consequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the several enterprizes by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: "For this reason the senate and people of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred the liberty of
Greece

* He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Ἀθῆναις ἡ Ἀθήνη, ἡ ἑλπίς ἡ πατρίς. But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but erected a statue in honour of him.

Greece to the safety of their own country, have resolved, that after offering up prayers and sacrifices, to call down the assistance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and Attica, two hundred sail of ships shall be put to sea. That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as soon as possible, and cruize on the other side of the pass of Thermopylæ; at the same time that the land-generals, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, shall march and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the other Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these are most threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain courageously their particular independence, and the common liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared to them, that though formerly some motives of discontent might have cooled the reciprocal friendship between them and us, the Athenians however, obliterating the remembrance of past transactions, will now assist them with men, money, darts, and all kind of military weapons; persuaded, that such as are natives of Greece may, very honourably, dispute with one another for pre-eminence; but that they can never, without sullying the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from the virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to so ignominious a slavery."

(c) Demosthenes, who was at the head of this embassy, immediately set out for Thebes; and indeed, he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors to Thebes. Among these Python was the chief, who distinguished himself greatly by his lively persuasive eloquence, which it was scarce possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were mere novices in comparison to him: However, he here met with a superior. (d) And, indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration, where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.

(e) It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined,

(c) Plat. in Demosth. p. 853, 854.

(d) Demosth. in Orat. pro

Coron. p. 529.

(e) Ibid.

* This Python was of Byzantium. He went over to Philip. Demosth. p. 193, 745.
The Athenians had professed him with
the freedom of their city; after which

pledged, and had been considered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the several states of Greece, as those who held the first rank for valour and ability of war. To reject this was no easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Pheræ, but likewise because of the ancient inveterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. These displayed, in the strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the Rich, good, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Boeotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpation of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: But the sight of an orator, who seemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and led him to an avowed intimacy with Philip. To the capital arguments of Reason he opposed the active sentiments of Philip, and particularly the new strategy of Philip, who was already discovered and designed. He represented him as an enterprising, ambitious, crafty, passionate prince, who had turned the den of robbers into all Greece; but when, to his own better knowledge, was determined to attack the most potent state of the Grecian empire, whose pretensions were once more established for the credulity of those who did not know him, and who to destroy them were zealous for the public liberty, which he was so ready to invade. He represented them, the new conquests of Attica, to make him more than immediately aware that the Thebans would only present an opportunity of showing Thebes, and the rest of Greece, of Greece, that there are the merits of the Thebans, whose wealth being a constant and insatiable, they ought to have entirely the remembrance of their former duration, and that their force to reject the new strategy.

(f) The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, says an historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and inflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty ascendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the publick good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respected and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered: But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said, that the priestess *Philippized*, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprized at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. This army consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse: That of his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops might have been said to have

been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chief was not so. And, indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Charon, universally despised, and Lysicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Charonea, a city of Boeotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father reposed him, under whose eye he fought, in quality of a commander (the first time) discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the sacred battalion of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. (g) Lysicles, one of the two generals, having broke into some troops which formed the center of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and in that rash confidence cried out, *Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedonia.* Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, instead of seizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously, cried out with a calm tone of voice, *The Athenians do not know how to conquer.* Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians,

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in-disorder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the rest. (b) It is even said, that in his flight his robe being caught by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, *Spare my life*. More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip, after having set up a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to his officers and soldiers, each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shews, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and sung thus (himself beating time) *Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes, has said*. Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose soul was free though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, *Ah, Sir, since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites?* These words, spoke with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: And, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says * an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced

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him

(b) Plut. in vit. decem Orat. p. 845.

* Τῶν τῶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐλευθέρων τοῖς Ἀπύκτοις δόξαι.

him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attick graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them cloaths; with the view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind of treatment: In which, says Polybius (i), he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous than the first; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Boeotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

(4) We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his stile and of his works.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. (1) But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have considered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the fosses, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On

(i) Polyb. l. v. p. 359.

(k) Plut. in Isocr. p. 887.

(l) Demosth.

pro Ctes. p. 514. Plut. in Demosth. p. 855.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all rose up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before ; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians (a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly) in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a publick calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough ; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

(m) But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men ; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure ; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

*This earth entombs those victims to the state
Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,
Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.
This Jupiter decreed : No effort, mortals,
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
To gods alone belong the attribute
Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.*

(n) Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer : “ Censure me (says he) for the counsels I give ; but do not calumniate me for the ill success of them. For it is the Supreme Being who conducts

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“ and

(m) Plut. in Demosth. p. 855. Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 519, 520.

(n) Ibid. p. 505.

" and terminates all things; whereas it is from the nature of the counsel itself that we are to judge of the intention of him who offers it. If therefore the event has declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, since it is God, and not myself, who disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that I did not exert myself with poohy, vigilance, and an activity indefatigable, and superior to my strength: If with these I did not seek, I did not employ every method which human prudence could suggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of Athenians; shew me this, and then give what scope you please to your accusations."

(c) He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus (p). Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Plataea: No, he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and, on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, crying out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: *No, Athenians! you have not erred. I swear by these illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Plataea; at sea before Salamis and Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious.* Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetick manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear?

I have already observed in another place, how naturally apt these * orations (spoke in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.

Another

(c) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 508.

(p) Longin. de Sublim. c. xiv.

* Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, p. 562. observes, that the honour of such persons, excited all the Athenians were the only people who lived in the defense of their country.

(g) Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shows were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans drest in complete armour, he said with a loud voice: "These young orphans, whom an untimely death in the midst of dangers has deprived of their illustrious fathers, have found in the people a parent, who has taken care of them till no longer in a state of infancy. And now they send them back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow, under the most happy auspices, their own affairs; and invite each of them to emulate each other in deserving the chief employments of the state." By such methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a taste for virtue and solid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæroneæ, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes: But the cause was not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. * People flocked to it from all parts (says Cicero) and they had great reason for so doing; for what fight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions, and an implacable animosity against each other?

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes. (r) Cicero had translated the latter, a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which suffices to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to censure the writings of such great men, a considerable error, that very much lessens their perfection,

R 4

and

(g) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452.

(r) De opt. gen. orat.

* Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur à tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quàm summorum oratorum, in gravissima causa, accurata & inimicitiis incensa contentio? Cic. de opt. gen. orat. l. 22.

and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid just eloquence; and that is, the gross injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, were the very reverse of solid eloquence; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which at the same time is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the same and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: And it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; *But what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself!*

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest: For the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion Æschines cried out: * *How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!*

SECT.

* Some authors ascribe these words | he met with the same fate as Æschines, to Demosthenes, when, three years after, | and was also banished from Athens.

SECT. VII. PHILIP, in the assembly of the Amphyctions, is declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that expedition. Domestic troubles in his household. He divorces OLYMPIAS, and marries another lady. He solemnizes the marriage of CLEOPATRA his daughter with ALEXANDER king of Epirus, and is killed at the nuptials.

* **T**HE battle of Chæronea may be said to have enslaved Greece: Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thousand soldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Plataeæ, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones, he had subjected, by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no less a design, than the destruction of their empire. (s) The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight of) was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia minor.

(t) But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, cholerick and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said, that his consort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine,

R 5.

Attalus,

* A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.
in Alex. p. 669.

(s) Diod. l. xvi. p. 479.

(t) Plut.

Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say, that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor to their king. Upon this Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, *Wretch that thou art, dost thou then take me for a bastard?* and at the same time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his sword, and ran directly at his son. Happily the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in the bitter words following: *The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to creep from Europe into Asia; he, who cannot step from one table to another without running the hazard of breaking his neck!* After these words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him whether the Greeks were in amity? *It indeed becomes you, Sir,* replied Demaratus, *to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and dissensions.* The prince, sensible affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander, to persuade him to return home.

* Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priestess replied, *The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed.* Philip hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches with all possible

sible diligence his domestick affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely, for that festival, a tragedy, * entitled *Cinyras*, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and also to shew that he considered the affections which the Grecians bore him, as his safest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refusal to do an act of justice, that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's

R 6

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* Suetonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that *Adrestus, the Pantomime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered.*

THE HISTORY

never, to console him in some measure, and to ~~express~~ ^{show} the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he forms the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to overtake him. Pausanias was immediately tore to pieces upon the spot. (u) Thus died Philip, at forty-seven years of age, after having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.

Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, That the night before he had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in publick, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion Demosthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can scarce conceive, how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy,

policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which shewed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECT. VIII. *Memorable actions and sayings of PHILIP. Good and bad qualities of that prince.*

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most shining actions; because in the latter they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise. M. de Tournell has collected with sufficient industry most of the memorable actions and sayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of these detached actions and sayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, so far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Theffaly, he however at some intervals loved truth. He permitted (x) Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, *Philip, remember thou art mortal*.

(y) He * discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality (says Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked; whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou could do us," said Demochares, "would be to hang thyself." Philip, though he perceived all the persons were highly offended at these words, however made the following answer, with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go, tell your superiors, that those who dare make use of such insolent language, are
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(x) Arist. Epist. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. viii. c. 15.

(y) Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 23.

* Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.

"more haughty, and less peaceably inclined, than they who can forgive them."

(x) Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of some captives, one of them going up to him, whispered in his ear, *Let down the lappet of your robe*; upon which Philip replied, *Set the man at liberty; I did not know till now that he was one of my friends.*

(a) The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publicly in the Olympick games; *What won't they attempt* (replied Philip) *should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my hand?*

(b) His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spoke ill of him; *Yes, indeed* (says he) *and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where.* Another time, that they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: *Let us first take care* (says he) *that we have not given him any reason to do so.* Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, that occasioned another fine saying of this prince's: *It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated.*

(c) Being urged to assist, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost, by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him; *I had rather* (says he) *he should lose his reputation, than I mine.*

(d) Philip rising from an entertainment, at which he had sat several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to alledge which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave sentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, *I appeal. How!* (says Philip) *from your king?* *To whom then?* *To Philip when fasting* (replied the woman.) The manner in which he received this answer, would do honour to the most sober prince. He afterwards gave the cause a second hearing; found the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make it good.

(e) A poor woman used to appear often before him, to sue for audience, and to beseech him to put an end to her law-suit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied

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(x) Plut.
(d) Ibid.

(a) Ibid.
(e) Ibid.

(b) Plut. in Apophth.

(c) Plut.

one day with emotion ; *If you have not time to do me justice, be no longer king.* Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman ; and so far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was sensible, that a king and a judge are the same thing ; that the throne is a tribunal ; that the sovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice ; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt ; that he ought to appoint persons to assist him in this function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it ; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wise expression ; * *Be no longer king* ; and Philip comprehended all its force.

(f) He understood raillery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request : *Take what thou wilt*, says he, *for thou hast me by the throat.*

(g) It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished the one, and sentenced the other to follow him.

(b) Menecrates, the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows : *Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting.* Philip answered ; *Philip to Menecrates, health and reason* †. But this king did not stop here ; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table at it, where nothing was served up to him but incense and perfume, whilst all the other guests fed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man ; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

(i) Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep ; *I indeed, sleep*, says he, *but Antipater wakes.*

Parmenio,

(f) Plut. (g) Ibid. (b) Ælian. lib. xii. cap. 51. (i) Plut.

* Kai μὲν βασιλεὺς.

† The Greek word ὑγιαίνει signifies both these things.

(4) *Parmenio*, hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: *Do not wonder*, says he, *if he sleeps whilst you wake; for he wakes whilst you sleep*. By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness in neglecting their interests, whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

(1) Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, *In my whole life I could never find but one general (Parmenio) whom the Athenians can find ten every year at the very instant they want them*.

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he himself had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Turreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conspicuous as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He uses his endeavours with success to divide his opponents: To strike the surer, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; as ready to pursue or wait for it, he either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom; in fine, he is ever immovable, ever fixed in the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own subjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendant, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is sold at the dearest price; making fatigue and danger

his dearest delights ; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require ; and with all these advantages turning the fury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary, or undisciplined troops ; obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himself two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, *viz.* a steadiness and calmness of soul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments ; this calmness, I say, was united with a restless activity, ardour and vivacity, which were regardless of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected to have flattered him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head ; for which reason I will cite his own words. (*m*) *I saw, says this orator, this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and empire ; I saw him, though covered with wounds, his eye struck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet ; still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part of his body he might desire, provided he might live honourably and gloriously with the rest of it.*

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact regular discipline ; and trained up men capable of seconding him in his great enterprizes. He had the art, without lessening his own authority, to familiarize himself with his soldiers ; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever consistent with discipline : And indeed, from his affability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity of precautions, and the art of resources. A wise diffidence, which is of service, as it shews danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irresolute, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might

might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever just in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his designs; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians asleep, by a specious offer of peace; and to lay silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous security and blind indolence.

But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whose avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties; for this might be suspected in an enemy; but Theopompus, (n) a famous historian, who had writ the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. "Philip," says (o) he, "despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauch and the last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the science of debauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what sort of crimes did they not commit?" &c.

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politicks. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When

scarcely

(n) Diod. Sic. l. xvi. p. 408.
p. 206.

(o) Theopomp. apud Athen. l. vi.

scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

(p) Polyænus shews us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the completing of his other designs. “He did not (says he) carry on an open war against the Thessalians; but took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country into different factions. He succoured those who sued for his assistance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to weaken and subject the strongest; in a word, he rather fomented than appeased their divisions, having in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those firebrands of commonwealths. And it was by these stratagems, not by his arms, that Philip subdued Thessaly.”

(q) All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point of politicks. But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falsehood, perfidy and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, subtle genius; but we do not find him possessed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his sense just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it; and made
promises

promises which he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious; and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. (r) He did not blush to say, *That children were amused with play-things, and men with oaths.*

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity! What idea should we form to ourselves in the commerce of the world, of a man who should value himself for tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among virtues? Such a character in private life, is detested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to severe sincerity, justice, and, above all, the sanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes? "We are bound" (says a celebrated writer *) to speak truth to our neighbour; "for the use and application of speech implies a tacit promise of truth; speech having been given us for no other purpose. It is not a compact between one private man with another; it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now, whoever tells an untruth, violates this law and common compact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the sanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? (s) *Were sincerity and truth banished from every other part of the earth,* said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, *they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings.*

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expence of probity, honour, and religion? (t) *If your father-in-law* (Ferdinand the catholick) said Lewis XII. to Philip archduke of Austria, *has acted perfidiously, I am determined not to imitate him;*

(r) *Ælian*. l. vii. c. 12.

(s) *Mezerai*.

(t) *Ibid*.

* *M. Nicole on the epistle of the 19th Sunday after Whitsuntide.*

him ; and I am much more pleased in having lost a kingdom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than I should have been had I lost my honour, which can never be recovered.

But those politicians, who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of publick affairs, in treaties of peace and war ; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit ? An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and so many more ; some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falsehood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus, the most famous conqueror of the east, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no success, how shining soever, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

The End of VOL. IV.





